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CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

A REVIEW OF THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE PROVINCE

VOLUME II

(Containing the Decennial Portion
of the Decennial Report)

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PART III.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES, CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS.

Physical features.

The Central Provinces are situated in the centre of the peninsula, and comprise a large portion of the broad belt of hill and plateau country which separates the plains of Hindustan from the Deccan. The Province lies between $17^{\circ} 47'$ and $24^{\circ} 27'$ N. and between $75^{\circ} 57'$ and $84^{\circ} 24'$ E. Its extreme length from north to south is 500 miles, and its breadth from east to west also about 500 miles, while the area is 113,285 square miles, of which 82,109 are British territory and the remainder is held by Ruling Chiefs. The Province is bounded on the north and north-west by the Central India States, and along a small strip of Saugor district by the Jhansi district of the United Provinces and of Sirguja Feudatory State by the Mirzapur district of the United Provinces; on the west by the Nerbada river, which separates it from the States of Bhopal and Indore, and by the Khandesh district of Bombay; on the south by the Tapti river, the Satpura hills and the Wardha river, which separate it from Berar, by the Pranhita river and the Godavari, which separate it from the Nizam's Dominions, and by the large *zamindari* estates of the Madras Presidency; and on the east by the last, and by the Tributary States and the Sambalpur, Ranchi and Pulamau districts of Bihar and Orissa. The province is thus enclosed on nearly every side by Indian States, and is cut off geographically from other British provinces.

2. Berar (formerly known as the Hyderabad Assigned Districts) lies between $19^{\circ} 35'$ and $21^{\circ} 47'$ N. and $75^{\circ} 59'$ and $79^{\circ} 11'$ E. It consists of a broad valley running east and west, between two tracts of hilly country, the Gawilgarh hills (the

Melghat) on the north, and the Ajanta range (the Balaghat) on the south. The old name of the central valley was the Payanghat; and these three names—Melghat, Payanghat and Balaghat—will be used to define the three natural divisions of the Province. The area of Berar is 17,767 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Central Provinces; along the greater part of its southern frontier, where it adjoins the Nizam's Dominions by the Penganga; while on the west an artificial line cutting across the broad valley from the Satpura hills to the Ajanta range, and produced southwards over those hills, separates it from the Khandesh district of Bombay and the Nizam's Dominions.

3. The combined province may be divided from north-west to south-east into three tracts of upland, alternating with two of plain country. In the north-west the districts of Saugor and Damoh lie on the Vindhyan or Malwa plateau, the southern face of which rises almost sheer from the valley of the Narbada. The general elevation of this plateau varies from 1,500 to 3,000 feet. The highest part is that immediately overhanging the Narbada, and the general slope is to the north, the rivers of this area being tributaries of the Jamna and Ganges. The surface of the country is undulating, and broken by frequent low hills covered with a growth of poor and stunted forest. South of this plateau comes the long and narrow valley of the Narbada, walled in by the Vindhyan and Satpura hills to the north and south, and extending for a length of about 200 miles from Jubbulpore to Handia, with an average width of twenty miles. The valley is situated to the south of the river, and is formed of deep alluvial deposits of extreme richness, excellently suited to the growth of wheat. Lofty and spreading *mahua* trees stud the plain; and its surface is scoured by the numerous and rapid streams which, pouring down from the Satpura hills during the rainy season, have cut for themselves a passage to the Narbada through the soft soil. South of the valley the Satpura range or third division stretches across the province from Amarkantak, the sacred source of the Narbada, in the east to Asirgarh in the Nimar district in the west. The greater part consists of an elevated plateau, in some parts merely a rugged mass of hills hurled together by volcanic action, in others a succession of bare stony ridges and narrow fertile valleys, in which the soil has been deposited by drainage. Steep slopes lead up to the summit of the plateau from the plain country on the north and south, which are traversed in all directions by narrow deep ravines, hollowed out by the action of the streams and rivers, and covered

plateau is 2,000 feet, but several of the peaks rise to 3,500 and a few to more than 4,000 feet. The Satpuras form the watershed of the plains lying north and south of them; and some of the more important rivers of the province—the Nerbada, Tapi, Wardha, and Wainganga—rise in these hills. To the east the range is continued by the Maikal hills, which run along the northern boundary of the Bilaspur district and merge in the wild and rugged highland country of the five western Chhota Nagpur States; the northern slopes of these hills form the watershed of the Son, a large tributary of the Ganges, and flow northwards through the Central India Agency and the Mirzapur district of the United Provinces, while the southern waters drain into the Mahanadi.

4. Extending along the southern and eastern faces of the Satpura range lies the fourth geographical division, the plain of Berar, Nagpur and Chhattisgarh. The plain falls into three natural divisions. To the west, in the valleys of the Purna and the Wardha rivers, is the plain of Berar and Nagpur, containing the rich black soil which makes the area the great cotton-growing tract of the province. Further east the Wainganga basin, forming the districts of Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda, possesses a heavier rainfall, and is mainly a rice-growing tract. Its distinctive feature is marked by the numerous tanks which have been constructed for the irrigation of rice and have caused it to receive the name of the 'lake country' of Nagpur. To the east of the Wainganga valley, separated from it by a belt of hilly country, lies the great plain of Chhattisgarh, comprising the open country of the Raipur, Drug and Bilaspur districts, and forming the upper basin of the Mahanadi river. The Mahanadi flows through the southern portion of the plain, skirting the hills which border it to the south, while its great tributary, the Seonath, brings to it the drainage of Drug. Along the north the Satpura range overlooks the low country, the surface of which is an expanse of small embanked rice-fields, sometimes 50 to an acre, separated by ridges of unculturable gravel. Except for these undulations the level of the plain is generally unbroken; and over large areas there are few trees other than the mango groves adjoining the more important of the frequent clusters of mud-roofed huts which form a Chhattisgarh village. South of these level tracts lie two expanses of hill and plateau. To the west are the rugged hills of the Ajanta range, which rise in the Bombay Ghats, form the southern portion of the Berar Division, and extend to the south of Chanda as far as the valley of the Pranhita. East of this valley commences the vast area of hill and jungle comprised in the

Chanda and Chhattisgarh *zamindaris*, and the Bastar and Kanker Feudatory States. The greater part of this latter area consists of dense forests with precipitous mountains and ravines, which formerly rendered it impervious to Hindu invasion or immigration. It produces only on isolated stretches of culturable land the poorest rains crops, is sparsely peopled by primitive Gonds and other forest tribes, and until a comparatively short time ago was probably the wildest and the least known part of the whole peninsula. In recent years it has been opened up in all directions by good roads, constructed under Government supervision from the funds of the estates through which they pass.

5. With the exception of the small Vindhyan plateau and the northern part of Chhota Nagpur States, the rivers of which flow north to Hindustan, and of the narrow valley of the Tapti in Nimar, practically the whole of the Central Provinces lies in the catchment basin of three rivers—the Narbada, the Godavari, and the Mahanadi. The Godavari itself, however, only skirts the south-western border of Chanda for a short distance; and it is to its tributaries, the Pranhita, formed by the junction of the Wardha and Wainganga, and the Indravati and other rivers from Bastar, that the important position of this river in the drainage system of the province is due. Of the rivers a large proportion of whose course lies in the province, the Narbada, Mahanadi, Wardha, and Wainganga are the chief, all of these having a length of some hundreds of miles within its limits. They resemble each other in that their sources and the greater part of their catchment basins lie at a considerable elevation above the sea; and owing to the rapid fall of level, they have cut for themselves deep beds many feet below the surface of the country which they drain. In the rainy season they become swift torrents; but when dry weather sets in they rapidly dwindle to a chain of stagnant pools, connected by an insignificant streamlet trickling over masses of rock or meandering through broad wastes of sand. The principal rivers of Berar are the Wardha, the Purna, and the Penganga. The Wardha forms the eastern boundary of the division from its source in the Satpuras to its junction with the Penganga. The Purna, which is a tributary of the Tapti, drains the Payanghat, rising in the lower slopes of the Gawilgarh hills in Amraoti district, and running westward through the valley until it leaves the province at the northernmost corner of the Malkapur taluq. The Penganga rises in the hills near Deulghat in Buldana district, traverses that district in a south-easterly direction, and enters the Basim *talug* near Wakad. From Yeoti eastwards it forms the southern boundary of Berar till it meets the Wardha at

6. Though the scenery is on too small a scale to compare **Scenery.** in sublimity with that of the Himalayas, it is on the other hand as far removed from the monotony of the plains of Hindustan. The recurring contrast of woodland and tillage and the alternation of hill and valley, wood and river, cannot but be grateful to eyes fatigued by the sameness of dusty Indian plains. In the Narbada valley during the pleasant winter months the eye may range over miles of green corn land, broken by low black boundary ridges or twisting footpaths. The horizon is bounded on either side by hill ranges which seem to rise abruptly from the plain; but on coming nearer to them, the heavy green of their slopes is found to be divided from the softer hues of the young wheat by broad belts of gravelly soil, carpeted with short sward and dotted with noble trees, recalling the appearance of an English park. On the Satpuras, the high and abrupt hills, clothed from summit to base with forest, and seamed by the deep courses of the streams, up which the roads twist and turn, disclosing to the traveller here and there a glimpse of the cultivated plain stretching far beneath him, and the plateau with its rolling steppes of basalt alternating with little valleys cultivated like gardens, present a variety of scenery not less attractive. But except at one period of the year the velvety freshness of an English landscape is wanting. During the hot months, the plains lying baked and scorched by the dry heat are as lifeless as a moor under a black frost. Even in the winter, though the wheat-growing tracts retain their freshness of appearance, the rice-fields quickly harden into an expanse of bare yellow stubble. But with the breaking of the monsoon all is changed. The abundant growth of vegetation, in an atmosphere like a hot-house, is so rapid as almost to be imagined perceptible; and the new foliage, clothed in the softest tints of green and glittering with rain-drops, covers the whole surface of a country which a month earlier seemed little better than an arid desert. Nor is the aspect less beautiful in September, when miles of continuous fields heavy with rice can be seen, the ripening ears of green or yellow changing in hue with the passing shadows of the clouds, while in the background wooded hills covered with darker coloured foliage fringe the horizon, and in the clear atmosphere of this season appear to be less than half their real distance away.

Geology and Mineral* Resources of the Province.

7. The geological formations hitherto identified in the Central **General description.** Provinces are shown in the following list in order of increasing

* Adapted from Part A, Mining Manual of the Central Provinces and Berar, 1921, by Dr. L. Leigh Fermor, O.B.E., Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, and from articles in the Provincial Gazetteers.

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antiquity, the Dharwarian formations being, as far as is known, the most ancient rocks identified not only in the Central Provinces but in India :—

Alluvium	...	{ Newer. Older.
Laterite.		
Deccan Trap with Intertrappeans.		
Lameta and other Infra-trappeans.		
Gondwana	...	{ Upper Gondwana. Lower Gondwana.
Purna	...	{ Upper Vindhyan. Lower Vindhyan (with, perhaps, the Sullavai series). Cuddapah (including the Bijawars and the Penganga series).
Archæan	...	{ Pegmatites, granites, gneissose granites, and basic intrusives. Schistose gneisses. Dharwarian formations (including Chilpi Ghat series, Sonakhan beds). Sonawani series, etc.

8. The foundations of the province are, of course, constructed of the various Archæan formations, which are exposed over a large portion of the province and build up many of the hill ranges. Furthermore, the structure of the Archæan complex has to a large extent determined the disposition of the later geological formations. In the northern portions of the province the average direction of the Archæan fold axes is E. to E.N.E., this being also the strike of the most important orographical feature, namely, the Satpura range, built of Archæan rocks covered at intervals by the lavas of the Deccan Trap formation, and extending as a geological entity at least as far east as Korea State and probably as far as Ranchi. Speaking generally, it separates the drainage of the Nerbada and Son rivers on the north from that of the Godavari and Mahanadi on the south. The general strike of the Bijawars, Vindhyan and Gondwanas, as well as the alignment of the Nerbada alluvial valley, also conforms to this direction. In the southern portions of the province the average direction of the Archæan fold axes tends to be N.N.E., that is, parallel to the Eastern Ghats, and certain Vindhyan and Cuddapah ranges also conform to this strike. The N.E. and S.W. margins of the province are, however, bounded by terranes with a totally different strike, namely, N.W.,

exhibited by the Rampur (Raigarh-Hingir) coalfield on the north-east and by the Wardha valley and Godavari valley coalfields in the south-west, with, in the latter case, belts of Lower Vindhyan and Cuddapah rocks of the same average strike. Of a different type is the structure of the wide spread of Cuddapah rocks forming the gently dipping Chhattisgarh basin.

9. The wide-spreading flows of the basaltic or volcanic rocks known as the Deccan trap occupy nearly the whole of Berar, and the districts of Saugor, Jubbulpore, Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara, Nimar, Nagpur, and Wardha, comprising wide stretches of the Satpuras, and giving rise to the plateaux known as *pats* in Sirguja and Udaipur: this formation appears also as intrusive dykes and sills in various parts of the province, particularly in Korea State, where the dykes show the E.N.E. Archæan strike and there is an enormous doleritic still intrusive in the Gondwanas, and extending for many miles westward into the Rewah State of Central India. The Deccan trap is apparently horizontally stratified, but careful surveys show that there have been wide-spread post-trappean earth movements, causing gentle warping and dips and sometimes faults of considerable magnitude. Between layers of the igneous rocks are found sedimentary beds containing numerous fresh-water fossils, showing that between the successive lava-flows sufficient epochs of time elapsed to allow life to appear again on the surface. The region covered by the volcanic rocks consists usually of undulating plains, divided from each other by flat-topped ranges of hills whose sides are marked by conspicuous terraces, due to the outcrop of the harder basaltic strata, or of those beds which best resist the disintegrating influences of exposure. Features of the trap area are the prevalence of long grass, the paucity of large trees, and the deciduous character of almost all bushes and trees. Immediately underlying the trap in many places are various Lameta and Infra-trappean rocks, some of which, the limestones, are due to the replacing action of waters derived from the trap upon underlying gneisses and other rocks, whilst others are sedimentary sandstones and clays of Upper Cretaceous age. Often, as in Seoni, Balaghat and Mandla districts, and on the *pats* of Sirguja and Udaipur, the trap is capped by roughly horizontal sheets of laterite occurring at altitudes of 2,000 to 3,500 feet above sea-level.

10. The majority of the rivers are bordered by strips of alluvium, amongst which two divisions may be detected; an older (probably Pleistocene) often rich in *kankar*, and now suffering denudation, in consequence of slight earth movements: and a newer (often darker) alluvium in process of formation at the

present day. The wide-spread older alluvium of the Narbada and the Purna rivers appears to occupy basins formed as the result of gentle post-Deccan-Trap warping of the Peninsula along an axis having a N.N.W. alignment.

11. The most important geological formations from the mineral point of view are the Dharwars, with their deposits of manganese-ore, iron-ore, steatite, red ochre, limestone and dolomite; the Gondwanas, with their stores of coal, fire and pottery-clays; the laterite, with its bauxite and building stone; and the alluvium with its supplies of brick-clays and *kankar*. Excellent building stones may be obtained from almost all the formations, as well as materials for the manufacture of cement, particularly in the Lower Vindhya and Cuddapahs; and many minor mineral products may be developed in the future. Unfortunately none of the pegmatite veins (with mica, quartz, and rose quartz) or mineral veins (with copper, lead, silver, wolfram, fluor spar, and barytes) hitherto discovered have proved to be of much value. With the exception of coal, manganese and limestone, the mineral resources of the province have as yet been little developed. The valuable bauxite concessions held by Messrs. Tata and others have been unworked for some time owing to trade depression in Europe. A few concessions for clays and minor minerals have been granted; others are being taken up with a view to brick and tile manufacture, and cement and pottery works.

12. The Gondwana rocks are of especial importance on account of their coal measures. The main areas covered by them in the province are in the Satpura range, in the Godavari basin in the Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, and Yeotmal districts, in the Bilaspur *samindaris*, and in some of the Feudatory States. The formation is divided into the Upper and the Lower Gondwanas, the coal measures occurring almost entirely in the latter. The rocks consist chiefly of beds of coarse sandstone and conglomerate, marked with ferruginous bands, and attaining a thickness of 10,000 feet. There are known to be 32 coalfields in the Province; 8 in the Satpura area, of which the most important are the Mohpani field in Narsinghpur and the Pench Valley field in Chhindwara; 17 in Chhattisgarh and the adjoining Feudatory States; and 7 in the Wardha Valley group in Chanda and Yeotmal: the last group alone is estimated to contain 2,525 million tons of coal. The fields hitherto worked are few, partly owing to the lack of good communications, and partly to the inferior quality of the coal, which is generally of second or third class quality as compared with the

province contains coal of first class quality, though usually in the less accessible parts, such as the Kurasia field in Korea State now being prospected, to which it is proposed to construct a branch line from the Katni-Bilaspur chord of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, and probably in parts of the Bilaspur district now being prospected. The total output of coal in the province has risen from about 210,000 tons with a value of Rs 8,50,000 in 1914 to 712,745 tons with a value of about 50 lakhs in 1921, a remarkable boom in coal mining having been in progress since* the end of 1920. The most productive field in the province is at present the Pench Valley field in Chhindwara first opened in 1905, which has been the chief centre of the recent boom: nearly one-half of the 1921 output was mined in this field. The Mohpani field in Narsinghpur was opened in 1862 and sold in 1904 to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway; its present production is about 100,000 tons a year. In the Wardha Valley mines, which also have witnessed a recent increase of activity, the Warora field after being worked as a Government quarry for 33 years, was closed down in 1906 and replaced by the Ballarpur colliery, which was handed over to a private Indian firm in 1913: the latter produced about 107,000 tons in 1921. It is of interest to note that all the Wardha Valley coal mines, with a present annual output of some 175,000 tons, and, in the whole province, mines producing about 44 per cent of the total coal output of the province are owned by purely Indian companies. This percentage is likely to increase, in the near future, many concessions having recently been taken up by India firms.

13. The mineral equal or next in provincial importance is **Manganese.** manganese, with an output in 1921 of 467,000 tons valued at about 47 lakhs of rupees. The manganese deposits are associated with the so-called gondite series of rocks, regarded as metamorphosed manganiferous sediments of Dharwar age, and developed typically in the Chhindwara, Nagpur, Bhandara and Balaghat districts (and to a small extent in Seoni). The ore-bodies consist typically of braunite and psilomelane, and occur as lenticular masses and bands intercalated in quartzites, schists, and gneisses of Archæan age. The first prospecting license for manganese in the province was applied for in the Nagpur district in 1899. Practically all the present output is raised in the Nagpur, Balaghat, Bhandara and Chhindwara districts, and has since 1907 averaged 500,000 tons per annum. Indian-owned mines were responsible for 16 per cent of the 1921 output of manganese.

Valuable deposits of limestone exist in the lower Vindhyan, **Limestone.** Cuddapah and Dharwarian formations. There has been a great

* See Volume I, Part II, Chapter IV, section 8.

increase in the limestone output of the province, which rose from 134,040 tons in 1920 to 305,634 tons in 1921, of which about 58 per cent was raised by Indian concessionaires, and 97 per cent in the Jubbulpore district.

Agriculture.

14. Roughly speaking, four distinct kinds of agricultural land are found in the Central Provinces. The first is the heavy black soil which covers the Narbada valley and the open and level portions of the Vindhyan and Satpura plateaux. It is either alluvial, formed by the deposit of decayed vegetable matter, through the agency of rivers and streams, or has resulted from the decomposition of trap or basalt rock, or from a combination of both agents. This land is suited to the growth of wheat, linseed, gram, and other cold weather crops, which are dependent on the moisture remaining in the ground from the monsoon rainfall and on the showers received during the months of December and January. Water is usually found only at a great depth from the surface, and irrigation is consequently little employed. Embankments to save erosion and hold up water and careful tillage are the main requisites for cultivation. The second class of land consists of shallow black soil, lying in a thin sheet over the surface of the basaltic rock from which it has been decomposed. Land of this description predominates in Nimar, Wardha, the west of Nagpur, and the south of Chhindwara. It is suited for the growth of cotton, juar, and other autumn crops requiring only the light rainfall which these tracts obtain. The soil responds readily to manure, and the application of industry largely increases the outturn. The third class of land includes the light sandy and stony uplands of the Vindhyan and Satpura ranges and the hilly country in the south, where the soil is either very shallow or contains a large proportion of gravel mixed with boulders. Lands of this description are the poorest in the province; they require long resting fallows, and the cheap millets which they produce, constituting the main food-grain of the aboriginal cultivators who raise them, are entirely dependent on the rainfall of August and September. The last kind of land consists of yellow and sandy soil, formed from metamorphic or crystalline rock. This is the principal feature of the Wainganga and Mahanadi basins, including the south of Balaghat, Bhandara, and Chanda, and the three Chhattisgarh districts, which form the rice lands of the province. The rainfall is heavy and the land, though of little natural fertility, responds readily to manure and irrigation.

15. The three natural divisions of Berar have already been described. The Melghat, or northern division, is extremely rugged,

and is broken into a succession of hills and deep valleys. The hilly portion consists of basaltic and calcareous rock, and the soil in the valleys and ravines is a light brown alluvium, overlying basalt accumulated from superficial rainwash from the hills. This light brown soil, extending to about 8 or 10 miles from the foot of the hills towards the valley of the Purna, is culturable, but is less rich than the soil of the valley itself. The Balaghat, or southern division, is formed of undulating high land of the Deccan trap. The plateaux are covered with fairly rich soil, and the soil of the intermediate valleys is an alluvium of loam of remarkably fine quality and very suitable for wheat. The Payanghat, or central valley of Berar, contains the best land in the province, a deep, rich, black, and exceedingly fertile loam, often of great depth, with very thick underlying strata of yellow clay and lime. Where this rich soil does not exist, as in the immediate vicinity of hills, *murum* and trap are found with a shallow upper crust of inferior light soil. A great deal of the Purna alluvium produces efflorescences, chiefly of salts of soda, and many of the wells sunk in this tract have brackish water.

16. Broadly speaking, the districts north of the Satpuras **Crops.** produce principally cold weather crops, such as wheat and gram. Of those south of the Satpuras, the eastern ones produce principally rice, and the western ones (Berar and the Nagpur country) cotton and juar. In the Satpura districts the inferior soil is principally devoted to minor millets.

The agricultural history of the past decade is extremely complex. The first year's harvest was normal; but in 1913-14 the outturn was only 74 per cent of normal, the rice country and the north of the province being especially affected. In 1914-15 the *kharif* harvest was good, but the Nabada wheat was disappointing, and the excellence of the cotton crop was counteracted by a slump in the price consequent upon the outbreak of war. The next two years were favourable, cotton rising to an unprecedented price; and up to this point the combination of high prices and favourable seasons had a very beneficial effect on a province so largely dependent on agriculture. In 1915-16 the net-cropped area for the whole province reached its maximum figure of 25,418,760 acres, which it almost maintained in 1916-17. But in 1917-18 a set-back occurred, excessive monsoon rain severely damaging the cotton and juar in the west of the province, and the failure of the winter rains the wheat of the north; the output was only 78 per cent of normal. This was followed by an abrupt cessation of the 1918 rains at the beginning of September, resulting in a widespread

scarcity, with a harvest only 55 per cent of normal. The distress arising from the crop-failure was aggravated by a calamitous outbreak of influenza which began in September 1918 and lasted well into 1919, causing about 900,000 deaths. The combination of high prices, influenza and failure of crops, aggravated by the inadequate supply of railway waggons due to the war, produced a crisis which the province weathered with a wonderful power of resistance. Famine was declared in an area of 12,841 square miles with a population of 1,500,000, and scarcity in 38,333 square miles inhabited by 5,000,000 persons. After a 98 per cent crop in 1919-20, the rains again failed in 1920-21, resulting in an outturn of only 42 per cent of normal, the worst failure of crops since the famine of 1899-1900. Famine was declared in three districts, or nearly 12,000 square miles with a population of 1,500,000, and scarcity in 12 districts, or 35,000 square miles with a population of more than 4,500,000. Yet the mildness of the distress was remarkable; although only one harvest had intervened since the scarcity of 1918-19 and prices had maintained their unprecedented level, there was no demoralization and little deterioration of the people, and the numbers which came upon relief were never high. That within three years the agricultural population should have weathered with such success two severe crop failures and the catastrophic influenza mortality, speaks volumes for the very great increase in their general power of resistance, even when allowance has been made, as it must be, for improvement in the administration of famine relief. The net-cropped area for the province fell in 1920-21 to 23,139,206 acres, but has recovered in 1921-22 to 23,585,215; and the average figure for the crops of the decade, taking 100 to represent the normal figure on a normal area, is 84 as against 88 in the preceding decade and 73 in the famine decade ending in 1901-02. But it must be admitted that the fall in the net-cropped area during the decade represents, in addition to the results of the famines, a real decrease in cultivation due to the decimation of the population by the influenza epidemic.

Climate and temperature.

17. Climatically, the districts of the province fall into two main divisions, Saugor and Damoh on the Vindhyan plateau, Jubbulpore at the head of the Narbada valley, Mandla, Seoni, Betul, Chhindwara, and the Melghat *talug* of Amraoti on the Satpura uplands, and Buldana in the Ajanta hills enjoying a distinctly lower average temperature than the rest of the province. This difference is partly to be attributed to the greater elevation of these districts, and partly, in most of them, to their more northerly position. Taking Nagpur and Jubbulpore as typical examples, the mean

difference of temperature in favour of the latter is 6° to 7° from December to March: it falls to 5° in April and November and is 3° to 4° in May and October; while during the four months of the monsoon the variation is only about a degree. The main difference between the climates of the two places is in the cold season, when Jubbulpore has a considerably lower temperature, while in the summer the heat does not become oppressive until the middle of April, or a month later than in Nagpur. Jubbulpore and the Vindhyan and Satpura districts all experience slight frosts which sometimes do considerable damage to the spring crops, but ice is seldom seen except in the interior of Mandla and occasionally in other districts of the Satpura plateau. Excluding those already mentioned, the climate of the remaining eleven districts does not differ materially from that of Nagpur, except that Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad in the Narbada valley enjoy a lower temperature in the winter months, as they participate in the cold winds which are prevalent north of the Satpura range. The Chhattisgarh districts are very slightly cooler than Nagpur. The mean temperature of the province is 93° in May, the mean maximum being 106° and the mean minimum 80° . With the establishment of the monsoon the mean temperature falls by about 12° and is only 80° in July. It does not rise above 80° in August and September, and the mean daily range during these months is 12° to 15° which is about half of that in the dry season. The highest shade temperature recorded in the province is 119° at Chanda and Hoshangabad. The lowest temperature recorded in the plains is 32° at Jubbulpore and Chhindwara; and in the hills 30° at Pachmarhi.

18. The annual rainfall of the Central Provinces averages **Rainfall.** 48.51 inches, varying from 30.41 inches in Nimar to 64.03 in Balaghat. Pachmarhi, with 81.54 inches, is the station having the highest record. In Berar the rainfall averages 32.31, varying from 27.39 in Akola to 39.97 in Yeotmal. The mean for Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and the three Chhattisgarh districts, where rice is the principal crop, is 52 inches. Mandla, Seoni and Jubbulpore receive 50 inches or more, and the other districts under 50 inches. Of the annual provincial total, three-fourths are received during the months of June, July and August, about 9 to 10 inches during September and October and the remainder in the other seven months. The bulk of the rainfall is received from the Arabian Sea current of the south-west monsoon, but cyclonic storms advancing from the Bay of Bengal also give rain to the rice districts in the east. The normal date of the breaking of the monsoon in the Central Provinces is June 10th, while the rainfall caused by the advance of the south-west monsoon usually ceases in the second

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or third week of October. During November and December isolated falls are received from the retreating current of the south-west monsoon, but these are usually lighter in the Central Provinces than in Northern India. In January and February slight storms may occur, advancing from the north-west. These are somewhat more frequent in the north than in the south of the province. Any rain which may be received during the hot weather months is generally due to purely local conditions, masses of hot air being raised by the action of the wind to a sufficient height to produce condensations. As a rule about an inch of rain only is received during the hot season. Hailstorms sometimes occur in the cold weather months, particularly in the northern districts.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

19. The early history of the Central Provinces and, to a less degree, of Berar, is even more obscure than that of the Deccan as a whole. It is conditioned by the geographical features of the province, the backbone of which is the long range of the Satpura hills, through which the Burhanpur-Asirgarh gap, now penetrated by the Bombay-Allahabad railway, provided the chief route from Hindustan to the Deccan until modern times. Only those parts of the province adjacent to this highway ever played a prominent part in the history of India: that is to say the Saugor and Nerbada territories, Berar, and, to a small degree, the districts which border on Berar. The Satpura plateau and much of the Nagpur country were, until the rise of the Marathas, a remote country. In the east of the province the plain of Chhattisgarh was entirely isolated from the rest of India by a wide belt of forest, and had for its chief means of communication with the outer world difficult routes northwards over the Meikal hills to Jubbulpore or to Patna and Mirzapur, by which passed pilgrims southward bound to Jagannath at Puri, and northwards Banjaras laden with the surplus grain of the Chhattisgarh plains: Gondwana and Chhattisgarh have indeed their history, but it is of local as distinct from Indian interest.

General
character of
Provincial
History.

20. The history of the province falls into four divisions; the period of the old Hindu kingdoms, from epic times till the thirteenth century A.D., the period of Muhammadan supremacy, with its corollary, the rise of the Raj-Gond kingdoms, from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century; the Maratha period, covering the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century; and finally the British period.

Hindu period.

21. In the Hindu epics the Central Provinces formed part of the vast forest region between the Jamna and the Godavari, peopled by demons and snakes. In this wilderness dwelt lonely Aryan hermits, such as Sutikshna of Ramtek, near Nagpur whom Rama visited: to protect them from their wild neighbours came demi-gods and knights-errant from the north, in actual fact

The Epics,
and Historic
Areas.

probably Rajput adventurers who by conquest or inter-marriage carved out for themselves scattered principalities. In epic times, and in early history Berar, and perhaps the Nagpur and Wardha districts, formed part of the kingdom of Vidarbha, with its capital probably at the modern Bidar in Hyderabad State. The Mahabharata represents king Rukmin of Vidarbha as an arrogant prince who vainly attempted to prevent the marriage of his sister Rukmini to the demi-god Krishna, and subsequently so disgusted the Pandavas by his pretensions that they declined his aid in their quarrel with the Kauravas. Vidarbha figures also in the famous romance of Raja Nala of Nishadha (Malwa) and Damayanti, daughter of Raja Bhima of Vidarbha. The Mahabharata mentions a Haihaya dynasty ruling over the kingdom of Mahishmati, which is probably the modern Mandhata on the Narbada, in Nimar, and describes the adventures of Arjun and his horse in the kingdom of Raja Mayurdhwaj of Manipur, which is identified with Ratnapur in Bilaspur, the old capital of Chhattisgarh, of which region the ancient name was Dakshinkosala or Mahakosala.

adha. 22. The authentic history of the provinces begins with the rule of the Maurya emperors of Magadha. Chandragupta (B.C. 322-398) was master of all India north of the Narbada, and may have carried his arms into the Deccan. Either he or his successor Bindusara (B.C. 298-273) probably conquered the Deccan: for north Mysore formed part of the empire of Asoka (B.C. 273-232), whose only campaign was the famous Kalinga war on the Orissa coast. A direct memorial of Asoka's rule in the province is the existence of one of his minor rock edicts at Rupnath in the Jubbulpore district. His energetic propagation of Buddhism met with especial success among the non-Hindu or semi-Hindu peoples south of the Vindhya; Buddhist remains have been found all over the province, particularly at Bhandak in Chanda, Turturya in Raipur, Ramgad in Sirguja, Ramtek in Nagpur, Damaudahra in Sakti, Patur in Akola, and Pachmarhi in Hoshangabad. The great Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika philosophy, was born in Berar in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is a fair conclusion that the spread of Buddhism in the Province was the work of Asoka's missionaries.

ors s. 23. The last Maurya king, Brihadratha, was slain in about B.C. 185 by his general Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty, and probably re-conquered all the territory down to the Narbada valley. His son Agnimitra married the sister of Madhavasena, a claimant of the throne of Vidarbha, and in support of the latter's claims attacked and defeated King Yajnasen of Vidarbha, which was

partitioned between Madhavasena and Yajnasen with the Wardha river as the dividing line between their dominions. The Sungas do not seem to have made any permanent conquest in the Deccan.

24. Vidarbha next came under the sway of the Satavahana dynasty of Andhra kings. The Andhras, who had been subject to Asoka, were a Telugu race, whose original capital was probably Amaravati on the lower Krishna. Their dominion over Vidarbha seems to have been established in the second quarter of the first century before Christ: they assisted Vasudeva Kanva in B.C. 73 to overthrow the Sunga king of Bhilsa in Central India and probably seized the Bhilsa country. Their influence seems to have been paramount for some time in the shrunken dominions of Magadha: for in about B.C. 28 they overthrew the Kanva dynasty which had succeeded the Sungas. But their supremacy was interrupted by the Saka invasion. The Sakas were closely connected with the Parthian invaders of India, who established kingdoms in the Punjab in the 2nd century B.C. In about B.C. 150 they occupied Sind and Gujarat: and in the reign of the Parthian king Azes I of the Punjab (*acc.* B.C. 58) the Kshaharata dynasty of Sakas occupied Malwa and the northern Deccan (Maharashtra), with their capital near Nasik, nominally as satraps of the Parthian kings, but virtually as independent rulers. The greatest of these satraps was Nahapana, who styled himself Mahakshatrapa. At some date as yet unsettled the Andhra king Gautamiputra overthrew the successors of Nahapana, and reconquered Maharashtra. *It is probable that in this he was assisted by a rebellious vassal of the Kshaharata satraps, a Saka prince named Chashtana, who founded the Saka era, dating from A.D. 78. Chashtana ruled in nominal subordination to the Andhra kings as Kshatrapa of Ujjain, while Pulumavi, son of the Andhra Gautamiputra, ruled at Paithan on the Godavari over Vidarbha. Chashtana declared his independence by assuming the title of Mahakshatrapa: and either he or his grandson Rudradāman in about A.D. 120 recovered the northern Deccan provinces which Gautamiputra had captured from the first Satrap dynasty. It is probable that the Satraps' dominions included most of modern Berar, while the Andhra dominions included the Central Provinces west of the Wainganga and south of the Satpuras.

The Andhra
kings. (Cir.
B.C. 185 to
A.D. 250.)

25. The Andhra power broke up simultaneously with the Kushan empire early in the 3rd century A.D., though a minor Andhra dynasty may have subsisted for a while in the Chanda district, where coins of Satakarni kings have been found whose names occur in no other list of Andhra kings. It is uncertain what

Ahirs and
Vakatakas.

* Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*.

dynasties intervened between their fall and the rise of the Chalukyas. In the north and south of the province there is a persistent tradition of a line of Ahir or Gaoli kings who gave their names to such fortresses as Gawilgarh in Berar and Gaoligarh in Khandesh. The Ahir or Abhir kings fell before the rising power of the Vākātaka kings, probably of Bhandak near Chanda, whose dominions included all Berar, most of the Nagpur Division, and the districts in Seoni and Chhindwara. The Vākātaka king Rudrasena II in about A.D. 395 married the daughter of the Gupta emperor *Chandra-Gupta II who conquered the Western Satrap successors of Rudradāman, with whose dominions the Vākātaka realm appears to have marched. Their kingdom lasted till the seventh century : and throughout the 5th century their history is that of the Deccan. Kosala (Chhattisgarh), the Meikal hills, Malwa, Kalinga (Orissa) and various kingdoms of the south were probably under their suzerainty, and their northern boundary would seem to have been the Narbada.

ptas 26. Each successive dynasty which became predominant in
ia. northern India would appear to have ruled over the portions of the Central Provinces north of the Narbada. These territories, as stated above, had apparently been subject to the Great Satraps of Ujjain, who became completely independent on the decay of the power of the Kushan emperors. The rise of the Gupta emperors of Magadha first brings the eastern portions of the Central Provinces into the light of authentic history. Samudra-Gupta (A.D. 330—360) occupied the districts of Saugor, where an inscription of his has been found at Eran, and Damoh, and seems to have marched south over the hills through Chhattisgarh, where he subdued king Mahendra of Dakhin Kosala, and Vyaghraja, paramount chieftain of the forest hills in the south of Chhattisgarh, to the Kalinga kingdom of Orissa and Vizagapatam; then, after initial successes, his conquering career was stopped by a confederacy of kings at Palakka, just south of the Kistna, and compelled to retreat. The old version† of his triumphant march to the south and back through the western Deccan and Asirgarh appears to be based on fallacious identification of place-names. His successor, Chandra-Gupta II, in A.D. 395 completed the conquest of northern India by overthrowing the last of the Great Satraps of Ujjain and adding Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar to the Gupta empire.

iors 27. The Gupta empire broke up in the latter half of the fifth
of century before successive inroads of the White Huns, whose king Toramāna had established himself in Malwa by A.D. 500. Another

* J. R. A. S. 1914, page 326, Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, page 73.

† Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, page 61.

inscription at Eran is dated in the first year of his reign. His successor Mihiragula was driven out of Central India in about A.D. 528. During the decay of the Gupta power, and the anarchy which attended the Hun invasions, various small dynasties, which had originally been subordinate to the Guptas, ruled over principalities in the north and east of the province, leaving behind inscriptions as the only memorials of their existence. Such were the Parivrājaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties of the Jubbulpore district, an unnamed dynasty ruling at Eran, once the capital of Jajhauti, or Jejabhukti, the old names of Bundelkhand, and the Rajarshi-tulyakula kings of Chhattisgarh. The Uchchakalpa Rajas seem to have been tributary to a powerful Kalachuri or Chedi dynasty then (5th and 6th centuries) ruling at Tritasaurya, a place as yet unidentified. All the lands north of the Narbada became for a while subject to the great king Harsha of Kanauj (A.D. 606--647) who attempted to invade the Deccan, but was defeated by the Chalukya king of Maharashtra, Pulakesin II, and compelled to acknowledge the Narbada as his southern frontier. Harsha was the last great Hindu overlord of northern India; and on his death the minor kingdoms described above regained their independence.

28. We left Berar and the south in the hands of the Vākātaka kings of Bhandak. The date and manner of the overthrow of this dynasty is uncertain. They probably maintained their authority over the country west of Maharashtra proper till well into the 7th century, and may have been in power at Bhandak when the Chinese pilgrim Hieuen Tsiang visited that place in A.D. 639: their kingdom was then bounded by Ujjain on the north, Orissa in the east, Kalinga and Andhra on the south, and Maharashtra on the west. A close connection was kept up between the Vākātakas and the Guptas, cemented, as already described, by inter-marriage, and with subordinate dynasties ruling over the tracts intervening between Magadha and Bhandak, such as the Paravrajeka or "Mendicant" dynasty of Dabhala, and the Rajarshi-tulyakula kings of Kosala, who probably took these dynastic names in imitation of the "Rajarshi" Gupta emperors of Magadha, and used the Gupta era. In the west, the Kalachuri dynasty may have taken the country between Ujjain and Nasik from the Vākātakas in the second half of the 6th century, while Berar and the country west of the Wardha river passed first to the Rāshtrakutas and then to the Chalukya kings of Bādāmi, whose fifth king, Mangalesa (A.D. 597--608), defeated the Kalachuri king Buddharaja of Vidisa or Besnagar in Central India. Mangalesa's successor was Pulakesin II (A.D. 609--642), who, as described above, repelled the great Harsha's invasion of the Deccan. The

Successors
of the
Vākātakas
down to the
first
Chalukyas.

early Chalukya dynasty ruled over all the country south of the Satpuras, and made conquests in Gujarat and Malwa. They probably were the cause of the disappearance of the Vākātaka dynasty: for in the early years of the 8th century the kings of Bhandak appear to have moved their capital eastwards to Sirpur on the Mahanadi, in Raipur district, whence a dynasty of later Guptas (we have traced the connection between the Vākātakas and the great Guptas), connected by marriage with the Varma dynasty of western Magadha, ruled over Chhattisgarh till about A.D. 800, when they were driven eastward to Vinitapura on the Mahanadi in the modern Sonpur State by the kings of Sarabhapura, but continued to rule Chhattisgarh from Vinitapura until the Haihya Kalachuri conquest in the 10th century.

29. The Chalukya power in Berar, weakened by a long struggle with the Pallava kings of Kanjiveram, was temporarily broken by the Rashtrakuta kings of Malkhed (in the Nizam's dominions), who were paramount in the Deccan from A.D. 753 to 973: their rise to power represents an indigenous revolt against the Chalukyas who were invaders from the north, nominally Rajputs from Oudh but probably of Hun origin. During the struggles of the last of the early Chalukya kings a line of Sailavamsi* kings seems to have ruled over the "Vindhya" from Nagardhan in the Nagpur district; they fought victoriously with the kings of Gujarat, Benares, Bengal and Bihar. The Rashtrakuta kings crushed the Pallavas and severely defeated the Cholas; their dominions included Berar, and the Bétul, Chhindwara, Wardha and Nagpur districts of this province. The Sarabhapura† kings already mentioned may have been Rashtrakutas, connected with an early branch of that dynasty which ruled over Hoshangabad and adjacent districts in the 7th century.

30. In A.D. 973 the Rashtrakuta king Kakkala, whose dominions had already been invaded by Harsha and Munja, the Paramara kings of Malwa, was overthrown by the Chalukya king Tailapa, who in A.D. 995 defeated and captured king Munja of Malwa near the Godavari. The new Chalukya capital was at Kalyani in the Nizam's dominions. With various vicissitudes the dynasty retained its ascendancy in the Deccan till 1189. Its principal opponents were the Paramara kings of Malwa in the north and the Cholas in the south. The latter in 1000 ravaged all Maharashtra; and in 1009 king Bhoja of Malwa defeated and slew

* Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, page vii.

† Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, page 77.

the Chalukya king Vikramaditya V, but was defeated by the latter's successor Jayasimha II; Jayasimha was severely defeated by the southern Chola king Rajendra, who raided east to Orissa and north to the Ganges. The struggle with the Cholas continued throughout the Chalukya ascendancy and was a principal cause of the enfeeblement of their power, which broke up on the death of Someshwara IV in 1189, their dominions being divided between the Hoysala viceroys of Dorasamudra, the modern Halebid in the Hassan district of Mysore, the Yādava viceroys of Dewagiri, the modern Daulatabad, and the Kakatiyas of Warangal in the south-east of Hyderabad.

31. Berar fell to the share of the Yadavas, the last great Hindu dynasty of the Deccan. Their greatest ruler was Simghana, who early in the 13th century acquired nearly all the old Chalukya kingdom, and invaded Malwa and Gujarat. In 1294 Dewagiri was attacked and captured by Alāuddin, nephew of Jalaluddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, who entered the Deccan by way of Chanderi and Ellichpur. The Yadava king, Ramchandra or Ramdeo, bought his retirement from the country by a heavy ransom, which included the cession of the revenues of Ellichpur, that district remaining under Hindu administration. On his return to Hindustan, Alauddin murdered his uncle at Kara and usurped the throne of Delhi. Throughout his reign he despatched expeditions through the Deccan against the Hoysalas and Warangal, and the Tamil powers of the far south. Ramchandra, who had neglected to pay tribute, was in 1302 or 1306 captured and taken to Delhi, but was pardoned and restored. On his death in 1309 his successor Shankar rebelled against Delhi, but Alauddin's general Malik Kafur crushed the revolt by capturing Dewagiri, defeating and slaying Shankar, and annexing Berar. In the anarchy which followed Alauddin's death in 1316, Ramchandra's son-in-law Harpal made himself king of Dewagiri, but was in 1318 captured and flayed alive by Kutbuddin Mubarak, Alauddin's successor on the throne of Delhi. Berar thus passed finally into Muhammadan hands.

The Yadavas of Dewagiri and the Muhammadan conquest of Berar.

32. On the death of king Harsha of Kanauj in A.D. 647, northern India was divided up amongst innumerable small dynasties, nominally or actually Rajput. In paragraph 27 mention was made of the early history of the Kalachuri or Chedi or Haihaya dynasty of Tritasaurya, and in paragraph 28 of the defeat in A.D. 580 of the Kalachuri king Buddharaja of Besnagar by the Chalukya Mangalesa. The Kalachuris regained their independence on Harsha's death, and steadily increased their power by reducing the small dynasties around Jubbulpore. In 875 the powerful Kalachuri king Kokalla I

The Rajput successors of Harsha; the Chandels, Paramaras, and Kalachuris.

was in alliance with Bhoja of Kanauj, and gave his daughter in marriage to the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II. Tripuri or Tewar in the Jubbulpore district became their capital in about 900, and remained such for three centuries. They extended their dominions far and wide, conquering the country to the north as far as Benares overrunning Bengal and Orissa in the east, and raiding south to the Karnatak and west to Gujarat. Their permanent rule, however, does not seem to have extended beyond Baghelkhand and Bilaspur in the east, the Godavari in the south, and Narsinghpur, Seoni, Nagpur, and Chanda in the west. In the north their contemporaries and rivals were the Chandel Rajputs of Jejabukti or Bundelkhand, and the Paramara kings of Malwa. The former were possibly of Gond origin: their capital was Mahoba, and their dominions included the Saugor and Damoh districts, and extended northwards to the Jumna. In about 940 their king Yashovarman defeated the Chedi king Yuvarajadeva. King Dhanga in 991 was one of the Hindu confederates defeated on the Afghan frontier by the Amir Sabuktigin of Ghazni, the first Moslem invader: and in 1019 and 1022 Ganda Chandel bought off Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded his kingdom. In 1080 the great Raja Kirtivarman defeated the aggressive Chedi king Karnadeva. The last great Chandel king was Parmal, who was in 1182 defeated by the famous Chauhan Rajput, Prithviraj, and in 1203 surrendered his fortress of Kalanjar to Muhammad of Ghor's general Kutbuddin Aibak, the first Slave Sultan of Delhi. From that date the Chandel Rajas became obscure princes in the Bundelkhand jungles. The Paramara kings of Malwa had their capital at Dhar, and included Nimar and Hoshangabad in their domains. Mandhata on the Narbada, in Nimar district, was their great place of pilgrimage, where they distributed their charities; and a number of their copper-plate grants have been found bestowing on Brahmans villages now in the Central Provinces. The wars of the Paramara kings Harsha, Munja and Bhoja, the famous Raja Bhoja of Hindu legend, with the Rashtrakuta and Chalukya kings were described above. Tailapa Chalukya, the rival of king Munja, was the maternal grandson of the Chedi king Lakshmanaraja; and Chedi and Chalukya seem to have combined against Malwa. King Munja captured the Chedi capital Tripura before his own final defeat by the Chalukyas in 995; and King Bhoja (1018—1060), after his Chalukya wars, met with a crushing defeat at the close of his reign from the allied armies of Gujarat and the Chedi king Karnadeva, which reduced Malwa to a petty power. The last known Paramara king was reigning in 1266. The fortress of Asirgarh was held from the 10th century till 1295 by Chauhan Rajputs: in the latter year it was stormed by Alauddin Khilji on his return from his raid against Dewagiri, and its garrison was put to the sword.

33. The expansion of the Kalachuris westwards being barred by the Chandel and Malwa kings, securing themselves on that side by alliances with Gujarat and the Chalukyas, they carried their arms northwards and southwards. As early as A.D. 900 or 910 they attacked Chhattisgarh, and the countries "of the eastern sea". A son of Kokalla II (1000—1038) was subordinate chieftain of the province of Tumāna, in the hills in the north of Bilaspur. Thence his descendant Kalingaraja raided southwards and conquered Kosala or Chhattisgarh, reducing to subjection but not ousting the local feudal chiefs. His grandson Ratnadeva I in 1050 moved his capital from Tuman to Ratnapur, and his successors soon ceased to acknowledge the suzerainty of the kings of Tripuri. The greatest of the latter after Kokalla II were Gāngeyadeva and Karnadeva, who was defeated by the Chandel Kirtivarman. The Chedi dominions reached their greatest extent in their time, and thereafter steadily declined before the attacks of Chandels and other neighbours, till their Tewar kingdom disappeared altogether at the close of the 12th century.

The Kalachuri conquest of Chhattisgarh, and decline of the Kalachuris of Tewar.

34. The Kalachuri Haihayabansi kings of Chhattisgarh maintained their rule until the Maratha conquest of Chhattisgarh in 1740. At first they kept up relations with the States to the north of the Meikal hills. In the 12th century they were in alliance with the kings of Kanauj and Bundelkhand, and their influence extended from Amarkantak to beyond the Godavari, and from the borders of Berar in the west to the frontiers of Orissa in the east. But their hegemony was of a flimsy kind. Chhattisgarh* itself consisted of two kingdoms each with 18 *garhs*, or districts of 84 villages, subdivided into *talugs* or *barhons* of 12 villages: the *barhon* chief or *dao*, was the headman of his headquarters village, and chief headman of the *barhon*; the *diwan* or head of the *garh* was *dao* of his own headquarter *barhon* and chief of his fellow *daos*; and similarly the Raja was only the *diwan* of the headquarters *garh*, and overlord of the other *garhs*. The Ratnapur kingdom was one *atharahgarh*: a younger branch of the Haihaya family formed the second in nominal subjection to Ratnapur, with Raipur as its capital. The *diwans* of the *garhs* were originally for the most part Gond chieftains, but they were gradually supplanted in the open country by immigrant Hindusthanis. It is from this class that many of the modern Chhattisgarh *samindars* are descended. A similar organisation existed in the adjacent Sambalpur, Bastar, Kalahandi and Sirguja States. On this old, perhaps Mundari, tribal organisation the Haihayas superimposed the semblance of a feudal organisation: the *gaontia* or village

Character of Kalachuri rule in Chhattisgarh.

headman in time of war had to assist his *dao*, the *dao* his *diwan*, and the *diwan* his Raja. The feudal system was held in check by a system of *panchayats*; the Raja's power being limited by a *panchayat* of *diwans* at which he was *primus inter pares*, and so on, down to the *gaontia*, limited by his village *panchayat*. The looseness of its internal organisation rendered the kingdoms of Chhattisgarh too weak for successful aggression, while their land-locked approaches secured them from invasion.

Muhammadan—Raj-Gond Period.

ary. 35. The Muhammadan Raj-Gond period of provincial history lasted roughly for four centuries, beginning with the last years of the thirteenth century. Direct Muhammadan rule was practically confined to Nimar and Berar. About the rest of the province we have practically no information until the middle of the 15th century, when we find it divided between the Raj-Gond dynasties of Garha-Mandla and Chanda, the Haihayas of Chhattisgarh, and the Kakatiyas of Bastar. But practically the whole of the province was at one time or another under direct or indirect Muhammadan control, of which in the latter case the outward sign was the payment of an annual tribute and further exactions as the price of recognition on succession. Such tributes were either first imposed or afterwards enforced by small Muhammadan expeditions which penetrated to Wairagarh in Bhandara, Lanji in Balaghat, to Chhattisgarh, Garha-Mandla, Deogarh, Chanda and even the wilds of Bastar. Persian historians refer to the chieftains of the province as *samindars*; and the Muhammadan suzerainty implied by this was in fact universal throughout the province. Direct Muhammadan rule divides itself into three periods: for the first 50 years Berar and Nimar were subject to the Sultans of Delhi; from about 1350 to 1596 they were under the rule of independent Mussalman dynasties; and from 1590 till the rise of the Marathas they were in fact or in name part of the Moghul Empire.

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36. The Chandel Rajas of Bundelkhand, as described above, had fought with the Amir Sabuktigin in 940 and with Mahmud of Ghazni in 1019 and 1022. In 1173 the Ghazni dominions came into the hands of Muhammad of Ghor, who in 1192 defeated the Hindu confederacy under the Chauhan Prithiraj at Tarain. His general Kutbuddin Aibak in rapid succession took Delhi, Benares, Gwalior, and Anhilwara in Gujarat; and Bihar and Bengal were reduced in 1197 and 1199 by Muhammad Khilji. Kutbuddin in 1203 captured the Chandel fortress of Kalanjar and occupied Mahoba, the capital of Bundelkhand, which became tributary to Delhi; and in 1206 established himself as

Sultan of Delhi, founding the Slave dynasty. In 1290 Jalaluddin Khilji succeeded the last Slave Sultan; his nephew Alauddin in 1294 obtained the cession of Ellichpur from the Yadavas of Dewagiri, and by subsequent raids into the Deccan reduced Berar, and attacked Warangal and the Hoysalas. He conquered Malwa, including the Narbada districts, in the first decade of the 14th century. His successor, Kutbuddin Mubarak (1315—18), crushed Harpal Deo Yadava's revolt, and to hold the Deccan built a chain of forts from the Satpuras to Dwara Samudra, the Hoysala capital in Mysore. Alaf Khan, the son of the first of the Tughlak Sultans, Ghiyasuddin (1321—24), used Dewagiri as his base to attack Warangal: he captured Bidar and Warangal and sent the Raja, Pratap Rudradeva II, as a prisoner to Delhi. The latter's brother Annam Deo fled to Bastar, where he established the still reigning Kakatiya dynasty. Berar gained a temporary notoriety during Alaf Khan's reign as Muhammad bin Tughlak (1325—51); the latter transferred his capital from Delhi to Dewagiri, which he renamed Daulatabad, forcing the inhabitants of Delhi to migrate *en masse* to the new capital in 1327 and in 1340. His cruelty provoked revolt. All the dispossessed Hindu princes and chiefs of the Deccan had fled south, where in 1336 under the Raja of Anegundi they founded the empire of Vijayanagar, which till 1565 was paramount over the far south and effectually blocked Moslem conquest. In 1342 Muhammad bin Tughlak marched south to suppress a revolt of the Governor of Coromandel, but had to retreat owing to an outbreak of cholera, and lost Warangal and Telingana, which fell into Hindu hands. That same year witnessed the retransfer of the capital to Delhi: thousands of the returning population died on the way through Malwa where a terrible famine was raging. All the Moslem nobles of the Deccan now rose in revolt, and in alliance with Vijayanagar and Warangal defeated the Imperial troops at Bedar in 1347. Their leader Hasan Zafar Khan occupied Daulatabad and was proclaimed Sultan of the Deccan as Alauddin Bahmani Shah, his independence being tacitly recognised by Sultan Firozshah Tughlak (1353—1388).

37. During the latter's reign and with his license, Malik Raja Faruki, a Moslem soldier of fortune, in 1370 occupied the Tapti valley portion of Nimar, built a fort at Talner, and levied tribute from the Gond chieftains of the Satpuras. The Delhi empire broke up on Firoz Shah's death in 1388, and Timur's invasion in 1398. The Governor of Malwa, Shihabuddin Gori, made himself independent, founding the Ghori dynasty which, with its successor the Khilji dynasty, ruled over Malwa first from Dhar and then from Mandu till the annexation of Malwa by Sultan Bahadur Shah

Independent
Kings of
Khandesh
and
Malwa.

of Gujarat in 1531. Malwa was finally conquered by Akbar in 1569 after intermediate invasions by Humayun and Sher Shah of Delhi. The second Ghori Sultan, Hoshang Shah, who died in 1432, probably gave his name to Hoshangabad; he was constantly at war with the Bahmani king and Gujarat, and the princes of Kherla* in Betul, whose dominions he added to his own in 1425. Shihabuddin Ghori's daughter married Malik Raja Faruki, whose son Nasir Khan was given the title of Khan by the king of Gujarat, whence his principality became known as Khandesh. He captured Asirgarh, and founded the city of Burhanpur. The Faruki dynasty ruled Khandesh, at times independent, and at times subject to Gujarat, until Akbar's capture of Asirgarh in 1601, when Khandesh became a Moghul *Suba*. Its importance lay in the possession of Asirgarh which commanded the main road into the Deccan.

38. Alauddin Bahman after his accession to the throne of the Deccan divided his kingdom into four *tarafs*, of which the northernmost was Berar, with its southern boundary the Godavari and its western frontier extending beyond Baitalwadi. The story of the dynasty is not attractive. Of the fourteen Sultans who reigned between 1347 and 1518 four were murdered, and two deposed and blinded. With one exception all who attained maturity were bloodthirsty fanatics, whose innumerable wars into their Hindu neighbours were "a mass of sickening horrors", and several of the Sultans were drunken debauchees. Their courts were armed camps in the centre of a devastated and robber-infested country, terrorising a Hindu population which more than once they tried to exterminate. Terrible famines raged in 1396, and, traditionally, the next eleven years, and in 1420. Berar was overrun by the Moslems of the independent kingdoms on its northern frontier, by Gonds from the Satpuras and Chanda, and by Hindus from Telingana. It had to furnish contingents to the countless wars waged by the Bahmani Sultans against the Rajas of Vijayanagar, Telingana, Orissa, and the Konkan, the Sultans of Gujarat, Malwa, and Khandesh, and the Gonds. Ahmad Shah I, the ninth king, had in 1422 to recapture Kalam and Mahur in south-east Berar from Gonds or Hindus, suppress a Hindu revolt in Berar, and strengthen the fortresses of Gawilgarh and Narnala to guard his northern frontier. But the chief weakness of the Sultans lay in the power of the provincial governors, who were almost independent in

* Sir Richard Temple in the first Annual Administration report of the Central Provinces described Kherla as a Gond kingdom, and subsequent writers have repeated this statement, for which, however, there are no grounds. Kherla was probably under Rajput princes who originated from a Viceroy of the Yadava kings of Dewagiri and lived in semi-independence from the fall of Dewagiri in 1318 till 1425, when Narsingh Rai of Kherla was slain by Hoshang Shah. Ferishta describes Narsingh Rai as a king of great wealth and power who possessed all the hills of Gondwana and other countries.

their own charges, the only check on them being the Sultan's occasional tours: to remove this, Muhammad III, on the advice of his minister Mahmud Gawan in 1480 divided each *taraf* into two, simultaneously curtailing the powers of the provincial *tarafdars* by bringing many *parganas* in each province under the direct administration of the Crown, and placing all important forts under the command of *kiladars* directly subordinate to the Crown. Berar was divided into the provinces of Gawil and Mahur, each named after its fortress capital.

39. But these reforms were too late to prevent the disruption of the Bahmani kingdom. In the reign of the fourteenth Sultan, Mahmud Shah II,* the principal *tarafdars* proclaimed their independence. Fateh-ullah Imad-ul-mulk, who had from 1471 to 1480 been governor of all Berar and since then of Gawil, assumed the style of king in 1490, and soon annexed Mahur. The Bahmani kingdom was split up into the five sultanates of Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, and Golconda. Imad-ul-mulk had been a Brahman boy of Vijayanagar, but was captured by Musalmans in 1422 and brought up as a Musalman by Khan-i-jahan, his predecessor as *tarafdar* of Berar. He died in 1504, and was succeeded by his son Alauddin Imad Shah, who made Gawilgarh his capital and waged fruitless war against Amir Barid of Bidar and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Alauddin was succeeded in 1529 by his son Darya Imad Shah, and he, after a peaceful and uneventful reign, by his son Burhan Imad Shah (1560-61), who on his return in 1561 from the siege of Ahmadnagar, was seized and imprisoned by Tufal Khan, one of his *amirs*, who henceforth exercised royal functions. In 1572 Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar invaded Berar, ostensibly to release Burhan. Tufal Khan, his son Shams-ul-mulk who had surrendered Gawilgarh, and Burhan were captured and put to death. Thus ended the rule of the Imad Shahi dynasty in Berar, after a duration of eighty-five years.

Imad Shahi
Dynasty of
Berar.

40. The Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was not long destined to hold the prize. At home it could do nothing to quell civil broils and allay dangerous feuds. Even when the famous Chand Bibi became queen-regent there was no chance of upholding a tottering state. The Moghul emperor Akbar had decided to reduce the southern sultanates to dependency; and operations designed to secure this object began in 1593. In 1595 Prince Murad,

Ahmadnagar
and Moghul
period.

* Some light is thrown upon the obscure history of the interior of the province by recorded invasions in 1471 by Mahmud Shah II's generals of the kingdoms of Wairagarh in Bhandara and of Lanji in Balaghat. The kings of both these kingdoms bear Rajput names, Jaisingh and Amur Singh, respectively. They were both reduced to dependency. [Briggs' *Perishia* (Cambray, Calcutta, 1909), Volume II, pp. 488-489.]

Akbar's fourth son, besieged Ahmadnagar; and Chand Bibi, who defended the city with great valour, could only secure a Moghul withdrawal by the formal cession of Berar in 1596. Prince Murad after the annexation founded the town of Shahpur, about 6 miles from Balapur, and made it his residence, Berar being divided among the Moghul nobles. After Murad's death from *delirium tremens* in 1599, Akbar himself came down to Burhanpur to organize the Moghul conquests. Ahmadnagar was taken, and Daniyal, Akbar's fifth son, was made viceroy of Ahmadnagar, Khandesh and Berar. Daniyal died of excessive drinking in 1604; and the death of his father in 1605 for a time distracted Moghul attention from the new Deccan province. For the greater part of Jehangir's reign Berar was in the hands of the Abyssinian Malik Ambar (*ob.* 1626), who represented the independence of the moribund dynasty of Ahmadnagar; he is well known as the great revenue administrator of the Upper Deccan, and a generous tribute is paid to his military and administrative capacity in the *Tuzak-i-Jehangiri*, or official record of Jehangir's reign. Khandesh meantime, was maintained as the frontier Moghul province, and the governorship of Burhanpur, the base of all expeditions to the Deccan, was one of the most important posts in the empire. Shahjahan, who had been stationed in the Deccan at the time of his father Jehangir's death, resumed the Moghul designs of conquest; and in the first year of his reign Berar passed once more under the Moghul sway. In the year 1630 a famine broke out which raged for two years in the Deccan and Gujarat; Shahjahan's official record speaks of outbreaks of cannibalism and roads choked with dead, and of the depopulation of the fertile and prosperous lands of Berar; his utterly inadequate relief measures were the opening of a few soup-kitchens, the distribution of 1,50,000 rupees in charity, and the remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue. In 1636 all the Moghul possessions in the Deccan were divided into four *subahs* or provinces, one of which was Berar, with Ellichpur as its capital and Gawilgarh as its chief fortress. Aurangzeb, Shahjahan's third son, was appointed viceroy of these four provinces. After Aurangzeb's deposition of his father in 1659, the resources of Berar were taxed to the utmost by his campaigns in Bijapur, Golconda, and Southern India; and at the same time the province became the prey of Maratha marauders, the last effective restraint upon whom had been the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan which the Moghuls overthrew. As early as 1670 Sivaji's officer Partab Rao Gujar plundered Khandesh as far as Burhanpur; and in 1680 his son and successor Sambhaji overran Berar. On Aurangzeb's departure from Burhanpur in 1684 to effect the final conquest of the Deccan, the city was

plundered by Maratha horsemen. In 1698 Rajaram, the half-brother and successor of Sambaji, aided by Bakht Buland, the Gond Raja of Deogarh, who had embraced Islam in order to gain Aurangzeb's support, again devastated Berar. In 1705 the suburbs of Burhanpur were again plundered, and from this time a large Moghul force was stationed in the city to protect the convoys proceeding to the Deccan. The Sayyid ministers of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713—1719) formally recognised the claim of the Marathas, who periodically overran Khandesh and Berar, to levy from the *subth* of the Deccan, including Khandesh, *chauth* or blackmail, to the extent of one-quarter of the revenue and *sardeshmukhi*, a royalty amounting to 10 per cent of the revenue collection on appointments to or recognitions of the old Hindu office of *deshmukh*.

41. This is a convenient place at which to summarize the nature and effects of Muhammadan rule in Berar and Khandesh. Sir A. Lyall *has compared the government of the Deccan during the years 1300—1600 to that of western Europe during the same period, and suggests that the former loses little by the comparison. He points out that the common people for the most part were little affected by the long wasting wars, feuds, revolts, massacres and assassinations which fill the annals of the Deccani Sultans: that Berar in particular remained always "an agricultural country, situated off the high-road of foreign armies, and distant from the capitals of royalty", where the Muhammadan government "always attempted, in the interests of revenue, to protect the tillers of the land, keeping the collections as much as possible in their own hands, except when *jagirs* were granted, and never formally abandoning the cultivator to the mercy of a feudal lord;" that the peasants were as well off as the commons of England during the wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and better off than the peasants of France up to the end of the seventeenth century. But there is another side to the question. Sir A. Lyall himself goes on to admit the weakness of the townspeople and the tyranny to which they were exposed, and the swamping of the Deccan by swarms of adventurers from every nation in Asia and the East African coast. The kingdoms of the Deccan were constantly distracted by feuds between the Deccan-born and the African nobles: civil broils at home and constant warfare and invasion from without cannot but have had a great and adverse effect upon the economic life of the people, upon whom were planted the courts of the Sultans and their governors, like so many armed camps consuming the country. Life and property were

* Berar Gazetteer, 1870, pp. 118—119.

never secure from the swarms of robbers who infested the Deccan. The absence of public morality must have reacted on private life. Bernier,* who travelled in various parts of India between 1656 and 1668, in illustration of a current proverb "the Deccan is the bread and support of the soldiers of Hindustan", shows how Moghul generals procrastinated all military operations, war being "the source of their emolument and dignity". His description of the condition of India speaks of *jagirdars*, governors, and contractors of revenue as exercising an absolute and oppressive authority over the peasantry, who had no one to whom to appeal against their extortion and oppression: of commercial men burying all their bullion and wealth and pretending extreme indigence, as their only safeguard against the cupidity of their rulers; of peasants and artisans dying in misery and exhaustion, or in the alternative abandoning the soil to migrate to another and freer State or to attach themselves as camp-followers to some army; of vast areas passing out of cultivation and villages falling to ruin; and of the extortion of governors and their subordinates being increased by the practice of selling appointments and retaining them by bribery. "No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others; and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented by the presence of a military force." It is impossible to believe that Berar was unaffected by these conditions. We have noted the seven famines of 1342, 1396-1407, 1420, and 1630-1632; no less severe was that of 1702-1704; and many minor famines intervened. Their severity and frequency and the appalling depths of degradation and misery to which their victims sank clearly show the absence of any power of resistance among the oppressed rural population. On the other hand, the independent Moslem rulers of Berar were often converted Hindus, and appear to have left the Hindus in possession of the soil, and to have done nothing to disturb the routine of ordinary revenue collections and the internal administration of villages and *parganas*, so that the old Hindu organization, with its hereditary *pargana* and village officials, was allowed to remain, recognized perhaps by the conquerors as a more convenient administrative machine than any which they could devise. There are now, in Berar, indeed, several Muhammadan families of *deshmukhs* (former *pargana* officials); but they are all believed and for the most part admit themselves to be descendants of Hindus who in the reign of Aurangzeb accepted Islam in order to retain their hereditary offices. But though perhaps less affected by Moslem rule than the rest of the Deccan before the days of Moghul rule, from the days of

*Bernier's Travels in the Moghul Empire, Oxford, 1914, pp. 196-197, 205, 224-232.

Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of the Deccan in 1650 till his death in 1707 Berar "underwent its share of fire and sword, Maratha plundering, and Moghul rack-renting; for the Emperor's long wars soon broke down his revenue system; his finances were ruined by the exactions of the Marathas and their pillage of his country; so that the cultivators must have suffered heavily towards the end of his reign".*

The Raj-Gond Kingdoms.

42. *Garha*.—Internecine war among Hindus, and Moslem invasion, distracted attention from the remoter portions of the provinces, and were taken advantage of by Raj-Gond families to establish their independence of their Hindu neighbours. In the middle of the fifteenth century, as a result of the destruction of the Rajput principalities by the Muhammadans, an opening was left for the gradual development of a Raj-Gond Kingdom which had its capital at Garha four miles from Jubbulpore. This kingdom remained an obscure principality till the accession of Raja Sangram Shah after A.D. 1500, who extended his dominions over a number of districts, comprising Saugor, Damoh, the Nerbada valley, and Mandla and Seoni on the Satpura highlands. This expansion of Raj-Gond rule occurred during the anarchic period which intervened in North India between the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate and the rise of the Moghuls. Sangram Sahi's first capital was probably at Garha near Jubbulpore; but later he moved to the fortress of Chauragarh in Narsinghpur district. His son Dalpati Sahi married the famous Queen Durgavati, a daughter of a Chandel Raja of Rath and Mahoba, who on her husband's death in 1548 became regent for her infant son Bir Narayan. She built the Ranital tank at Jubbulpore; and the fame of her rule spread even to Delhi; the *Ain-i-Akbari* speaks of her kingdom as a place where "people paid rent in gold mohars and elephants." Her wealth and power brought on her the Moghul armies. In 1564 Asaf Khan, the imperial viceroy at Kora Manikpur, invaded her dominions and defeated her after a heroic resistance in a narrow pass 12 miles east of Garha, Durgavati falling in the battle. Asaf Khan then attacked and captured the fortress of Chauragarh, taking a huge booty of elephants and a hundred jars of gold coin. After 25 or 30 years of management by Moghul *jagirdars*, the eastern half of the country appears to have been entrusted to descendants of the old Garha dynasty, while the western half was given to a local chief who had lately come into prominence at Deogarh in the Chhindwara district. One of these Garha Rajas was Prem Narayan or Bhim Narayan, who was slain by the Bundela Jhujhar Singh, Chauragarh and its treasures amounting

* Berar Gazetteer, 1870, p. 121.

to 10 lakhs being seized. Jhujhar refused to hand over a share in the spoils to Shah Jahan, who sent an expedition against him in 1635, which captured Dhamuni in the * Saugor district and Chauragarh, and pursued Jhujhar southward through the Raj-Gond kingdoms of Deogarh and Chanda, where he met his death at the hands of some Gonds. But the most prominent king of the reduced Garha state was Hirde Shah, who ruled from his new capital of Mandla for about 40 years in the middle of the 17th century. A series of disputed successions weakened the country, and culminated in the calling in of the Marathas by a claimant in 1731; Narind Shah, the Raja, bought them off; but in 1742 they returned slew the Raja, and imposed an annual tribute of Rs. 4 lakhs on his successor. Under this burden the kingdom went to ruin, wide tracts reverting to jungle, and was finally absorbed by the Saugor Marathas in 1781.

43. *Chanda*.—About Chanda there is very little precise historical information. The traditional account, even as amended in the Chanda District Gazetteer, probably credits the local Raj-Gond dynasty with greater antiquity than it has any right to claim: it places the accession of the first Raja Bhim Bakal Singh in about A.D. 1240; this king however by tradition conquered the Rajas of Wairagarh in Bhandara district; whereas, as was noted in the footnote to paragraph 39, Ferishta states that in 1471 the Bahmani king reduced Wairagarh and its king Jai Singh (a Rajput name) to subjection; had Chanda, moreover, then been a flourishing Gond kingdom, it would have been similarly invaded. But the absence, with this exception, of any assumed basis for the criticism and connection of the dates assigned to the local princes compels the acceptance, *faute de mieux*, of the traditional version of their history. Raja Bhim Bhallal Singh, who, if he conquered Wairagarh, must thus have established his power after 1450, is said to have had his capital at Sirpur on the right bank of the river Wardha. Wairagarh is however also stated by tradition to have been captured by Babaji Ballal Shah, the traditional 14th Raja, who is usually identified with the Babjeo mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a ruler of Chanda who paid no tribute to Delhi, and had an army of 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry. Of the 14 intervening princes the ninth, Surja Ballal Singh, is said to have visited Delhi, after which he and his successors adopted the name of Shah instead of that of Singh; his son Khandkia Ballal Shah to have founded Chanda; and the latter's successor Hir Shah to have been an able ruler who cleared vast tracts of jungle for cultivation and crushed the power of his feudal chiefs by insisting

on the development and demarcation of their territories; he is also said to have had an annual muster of the agricultural gear of his subjects, on the basis of which he assessed land revenue. The dominions of Babaji Ballal Shah's son Dhundia Ram Shah are said to have included Yeotmal and three other *parganas* of Berar; but the establishment early in the seventeenth century of the Deogarh kingdom must have diminished the extent of the Chanda kingdom; tradition and the Muhammadan chronicles alike speak of constant hostility between the two kingdoms. The *Padshahnama* mentions that after the capture of Jhujhar Bundela in the Chanda country in 1635, the Raja of Chanda had to visit the victorious Muhammadans, who exacted from him Rs. 6 lakhs in cash and the promise of an annual tribute of 20 elephants or Rs. 80,000: and from this time onwards Chanda was subjected to frequent Moghul exactions until the death of Aurangzeb. The Raja Manji of Chanda who is recorded as having co-operated in the Moghul invasion of Deogarh in 1656 corresponds in date with the traditional king Bir Shah, who also is said to have fought against Deogarh. Chanda and Deogarh were both included in Aurangzeb's *subah* of Berar, and paid their tribute through a Moghul agent stationed at Nagpur.*

44. *Deogarh*†.—At Deogarh, some 24 miles south-west of Chhindwara, a Raj-Gond dynasty ruled from the sixteenth century till the Maratha conquest of Nagpur. It was perhaps originally tributary to Garha (*vide* paragraph 42 above). The first known king was Jatba, who is described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a *Zamindar* living east of Kherla owning 2,000 cavalry, 50,000 foot, and more than 100 elephants, tributary to the kings of Malwa. A local tradition describes Jatba as eighth in descent from one Sarbasha, who conquered Deogarh from Gaoli chieftains. Copper coins bearing the name of Jatba have been discovered at Deogarh. He is said to have fortified Deogarh, and Patansaongi and Nagardhan below the hills. In 1637 during Aurangzeb's first Viceroyalty of the Deccan Khan-i-Dauran invaded Gondwana and besieged and captured Nagpur, then a stronghold of the Raja Kukia of Deogarh, who had refused to pay tribute. Nagpur was restored to him on his paying Rs. 1,50,000 and 170 elephants, and agreeing to an annual tribute of one and one-third lakhs. In 1640 the *Padshahnama* describes Kukia's son Kesari Singh as visiting Aurangzeb at Burhanpur,

* Nagpur was not, as is usually stated, founded by Bakht Buland of Deogarh in the 18th century. The *Padshahnama* describes its capture in 1637 by the Khan-i-Dauran. The name appears earlier still in conjunction with Nandivardhan, which is identified with Nagardhan in the modern Nagpur district, in the Deoli plates of the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III of circ. A. D. 940-41 (Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar by R. B. Hikalal, page 10).

†See J. N. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pages 49, 55, 205-208, and 355.

and being recognised as "*Zamindar* of Gondwana" in succession to his father on payment of Rs. 4,00,000. Shah Jahan in 1655 ordered Aurangzeb to invade Deogarh, Kesari Singh having withheld tribute. Deogarh was captured by two armies advancing by way of Ellichpur and Nagpur, with which Manji, the Raja of Chanda, co-operated. Kesari Singh submitted, and in 1656 visited Aurangzeb, and promised to pay Rs. 5 lakhs on account of past and present tribute and to cede certain *parganas*. In 1667 Deogarh was again invaded by Dilir Khan, who exacted a contribution of Rs. 15 lakhs and raised the annual tribute to Rs. 2 lakhs. Towards the close of the century there were rival claimants to the throne; one of these, Bakht Buland, who was ruling in 1700, proceeded to Delhi, entered Aurangzeb's service, and embraced Islam, being in return recognised as Raja of Deogarh. His kingdom, enlarged by conquests, included the districts of Betul, Chhindwara, and Nagpur, and parts of Seoni, Bhandara, and Balaghat. Determined to develop his territories, he ceased to pay tribute to the local Moghul agent during the convulsions caused by Aurangzeb's war with the Marathas. "He employed indiscriminately Musalmans* and Hindus of ability to introduce order and regularity into his immediate domain. Industrious settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gondwana; many towns and villages were founded; and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce, made considerable advances". His successor Chand-Sultan made Nagpur his capital: but the growing wealth of the kingdom attracted the Marathas, who levied *chauth* in his reign, and took advantage of dynastic feuds on his death to possess themselves of the Nagpur kingdom.

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45. The Raj-Gond kingdoms were probably similar in organization to the Chhattisgarh kingdoms (*vide* paragraph 34), with a *khasla* area in proximity to the capital under direct crown rule, and the wild outlying areas, such as the *jagirs* of Chhindwara, or the hilly jungles of south Chanda, under feudal chiefs paying a trifling revenue but bound to attend upon the prince at his capital whenever their services were required. The period of their rule has of late been commonly described as an almost golden age of prosperity, which conveys what is probably a completely erroneous idea. The land revenue organisation said to have been founded by their princes is almost certainly an attenuated shadow of the old Hindu land system which, before the Moslem invasion of the Deccan encouraged the rise of Gond chieftains, extended over all the country west of the Wainganga. Their territories were only left to them as being so poor that they

* Report on the Territories of the Raja of Nagpur by R. Jenkins, Esq. (1827), 1901, Reprint, page 63.

were not worth conquering, and even so were ground down by the exaction of heavy tributes. The stories of the vanished glories of their age are probably merely due to the flattering compositions of their Hindu court poets. They kept their place under the ægis of the Mogul empire, and as soon as this power broke up, their weak military organization rendered them an easy and attractive prey to the Marathas.

The Maratha period.

46. In 1719 Muhammad Shah ascended the throne of Delhi, but all power remained in the hands of the two Sayyid ministers. Chin Kilich Khan, known later as Asaf Jah, who had distinguished himself in the later wars of Aurangzeb, had been appointed viceroy of the Deccan with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, but was opposed by the court party at Delhi, who sent secret instructions to Mubariz Khan, governor of Khandesh, urging him to offer armed opposition to Asaf Jah. In 1724 Mubariz Khan was utterly defeated at Shakarkhelda in the Buldana district, the battle establishing the virtual independence of Asaf Jah, who founded the line of the Nizams of Hyderabad, to whom from that day Berar has always been nominally subject. But, as we have seen, the Marathas had continually plundered Berar, and had in 1717 obtained from Delhi the right to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Berar. From the days of Asaf Jah till 1803 the Marathas and the Nizam fought for the possession of Berar. The collection of *chauth* in Berar had been first entrusted to Parsoji Bhonsla, the son of a cavalry leader in the service of the great Shivaji. He died in 1709, and was succeeded by his son Kanhoji, who established himself at Bhaum in Berar and annexed part of Gondwana, but was supplanted in about 1734 by his cousin Raghuji Bhonsla, the founder of his family's independence. The latter in 1737 received a regular commission to collect *chauth* from Berar and Gondwana. In 1737 he was called by the widow of the Raj-Gond Raja Chand Sultan to Nagpur to aid her sons against a usurper. In return for his aid he received 11 lakhs of rupees and several districts on the Wainganga. In 1743 he was again called in to help Burhan Shah of Nagpur against his brother, and this time made himself master of all the Deogarh territories with his capital at Nagpur, nominally as protector, allowing Burhan Shah to retain a share of the revenue and the empty title of Raja. In 1740 Raghuji had raided the Carnatic, and immediately afterwards started a series of raids into Bengal, which in ten years culminated in the conquest of Orissa and the exaction of *chauth* from the Nawab of Bengal. In the meantime he captured Ratanpur, the capital of Chhattisgarh, in 1741, and finally deposed the Hâihayabansi king of Ratanpur in 1745, and by 1755 had acquired all Chhattisgarh.

The Nizam
and the
Marathas in
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and Sambalpur and made the surrounding *zamindars* tributary. Chanda was acquired by treachery in 1749, and finally annexed in 1751. In Khandesh meanwhile Asaf Jah held Asirgarh and Burhanpur; but the surrounding country was devastated by alternate raids by Marathas and Moghuls for the purpose of collecting *chauth*. Asaf Jah and the Peshwa Baji Rao I came to terms in 1731. Further north the famous Bundela chief Chhatarsal had at the close of the 17th century wrested a part of the Vindhyan plateau and the Narbada valley, including Saugor, from the Mandla territories. Attacked by the Moghul governor of Malwa in 1733, he asked for Baji Rao's help. The Peshwa came to his rescue, annexing Malwa in 1734; and being adopted by Chhatarsal as his co-heir, on the latter's death in 1735 appointed as governor of Bundelkhand Govind Rao Pandit, who occupied Saugor and Damoh and established the rule of the Saugor Pandits in 1740. Baji Rao obtained north Nimar in *jagir* from Asaf Jah, who had attacked the Marathas during their 1737 raid on Delhi. In 1742 his successor the Peshwa Balaji exacted *chauth* from Mandla; and shortly afterwards Raghuji Bhonsla annexed six of the southern districts of Mandla. In 1751 the Saugor Pandits finally annexed the Mandla kingdom.

47. Raghuji I died in 1755, but the Nagpur kingdom continued to expand under his successors. By the concession of a nominal authority to the Raj-Gond Raja of Deogarh, who conferred the *tika* on the Bhonslas on their accession, and had the right of putting his seal to certain revenue papers, the Bhonslas had to their hand a pretext for disavowing, when expedient, the rights of the Peshwa as their overlord. But in practice reference was usually made to Poona in important matters, such as those affecting the succession; and in 1769 Janoji, the son of Raghuji I, after being defeated by the combined forces of the Nizam and the Peshwa, had to acknowledge the latter's supremacy, and to agree to attend him in person with a contingent of 6,000 men whenever called upon, and to pay an annual tribute of five lakhs. In 1785 the next Raja, Mudhoji, obtained the cession of Garha-Mandla and the upper Narbada valley from the Poona court in return for a sum of 27 lakhs; this was followed by the acquisition of Hoshangabad and the greater part of Saugor and Damoh in 1796-98 by Raghuji II, who had succeeded his father Mudhoji in 1788. The possession of Berar had ever since the days of Asaf Jah been disputed between the Nizam and the Bhonslas. The latter held the forts of Gawilgarh and Narnala, and posted their officers all over the province; they occupied it with their troops, and collected more than half the revenue; but the Nizam constantly retained his title as *de jure* ruler of the country, with the exception of Mehkar and some *parganas* to the south,

which were ceded to the Peshwa in 1760 after the battle of Udgir, and Umarkhed and other *parganas* ceded in 1795 after the battle of Kharda.

48. The Nagpur kingdom reached its greatest extent in the last two years of the eighteenth century. Raghuji's domains included practically the whole of the present Central Provinces and Berar, besides Orissa and some of the Chhota-Nagpur states, with a revenue of about a crore of rupees. His army consisted of 18,000 horse and 25,000 infantry, of which 11,000 were regular battalions, besides 4,000 Arabs, and his field artillery included about 90 pieces of ordnance. The Maratha infantry and artillery were not manned by people of their own race. Their best troops consisted of Arabs, Rajputs, and Muhammadans, and these alone generally offered any serious resistance in the hour of defeat. Their success had been due more to their genius for diplomacy and intrigue, and to the effete condition of their Indian opponents than to any military capacity. Their military renown was built on their achievements as "predatory light horsemen, whose mobility enabled them to assail an enemy's weak points, to flee from impending danger, and to reap success when it involved little risk". The opinion of the Duke of Wellington was that the fall of Maratha power was due to their enlistment of foreign mercenary infantry and artillery, on which the remaining Maratha cavalry came to place an undue reliance, and which, by reducing their old mobility, obliged them to expose themselves to the risk of destruction in pitched battles. The Maratha administration of Nagpur was, up till 1803, on the whole successful. The Bhonslas, at least the first four of them, were military chiefs with the habits of rough soldiers, connected by blood and by constant familiar intercourse with their principal officers. Descended from the cultivating classes, they always favoured and fostered that order, and though rapacious were seldom cruel to the people. Of Janoji, the successor of Raghuji I, it is recorded that he never spared himself, being referred to in small and great matters of state alike; nor did any inconvenience or delay to the public service arise from this system, for even when not sitting actually in *darbar*, the Raja was always accessible to any person who had business to propound to him.

49. Up to 1803 the relations of the Nagpur *Darbar* with the English had been generally friendly; but in that year Raghuji II was induced to join the confederate Maratha chiefs in alliance against them: by the defeat of the confederacy at Assaye and Argaon in the Akola district, and the capture of Gawilgarh by General Arthur Wellesley, he was compelled to sign the Treaty of Deogaon (1803), which obliged him to cede Orissa and Sambal-

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pur, to resign all territory and revenue west of the Wardha, except Gawilgarh, Narnala, and a small tract of land, and to agree to the permanent appointment of a British Resident at his Court. - A subsidiary campaign took place in Nimar, where in 1803 after Assaye Colonel Stevenson occupied Burhanpur, Asirgarh, and the neighbourhood. Nimar had been in 1778 divided by the Peshwa between Sindia and the Holkar, and between 1800 and 1802 was devastated by their rival armies, its sufferings culminating in a terrible famine in 1803. Burhanpur and Asirgarh were restored to Sindia after his defeat, under the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon.

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50. The period from 1803 to 1818 was perhaps the most disastrous through which the country has had to pass. At Nagpur Raghuji after the Treaty of Deogaon threw off all restraint in his unwillingness to show a reduced front to the world, earning for himself among his people the nickname of the 'big *Bania*'. Not only did he rackrent and screw the farming and cultivating classes, but he took advantage of the necessities which his own acts had created to lend them money at high interest. All revenue reports of those times teem with accounts of the cruel but ingenious processes by which the Maratha collectors slowly bled the people. The Pindari bands ravaged the province, owning nominal allegiance to either the Bhonsla, Sindia, or Holkar, and plundered up to the suburbs of Nagpur. The worst of all their leaders, Chitu Khan, established himself in Nimar, which was rifled and ransacked by Pindari and Maratha partisans of the rival chieftains. Saugor in 1814 was plundered by Sindia. Amir Khan Pindari in 1809 and 1810 ravaged Jubbulpore and Mandla. The Treaty of Deogaon had put a stop to actual warfare in Berar, when the territories ceded by the Bhonsla were made over by the partition treaty of Hyderabad (1804) to the Nizam, who also received from Sindia certain tracts about Sindkhed and Jalna. But the people continued to suffer intermittently from the Pindari inroads, and incessantly from misgovernment; for the province had been restored to the Nizam just at the time when confusion in his territories was at the worst. "The Nizam's territories", wrote General Wellesley in January, 1804, "are one complete chaos from the Godavari to Hyderabad;" and again, "Sindkhed is a nest of thieves; the situation of the country is shocking; the people are starving in hundreds, and there is no government to afford the slightest relief".

British period.

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51. On the death of Raghuji II in 1816, his imbecile son Parsoji was soon supplanted and murdered by the notorious Mudhoji, otherwise known as Appa Sahib. A treaty of alliance for the maintenance of a subsidiary force by the British was signed in

that year. In 1817 Lord Hastings' campaign against the Pindaris gave the Maratha powers an opportunity to strike at the British. The Peshwa opened hostilities, on which Appa Sahib threw off his cloak of friendship, and accepted an embassy and title from the Peshwa. His troops assailed Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident of Nagpur, but were decisively repulsed at Sitabaldi, a suburb of Nagpur, which city they were compelled to evacuate, Appa Sahib having in the meantime surrendered. He was forced to cede all his Nerbada valley territories and his rights in Berar, Sirguja, and Jashpur, but was reinstated on the throne. In March 1819, however, he was discovered to be intriguing against the British, and was deposed and sent under custody towards Allahabad but escaped on the way, and ultimately fled to Rajputana. Meanwhile British troops in the north were active at Jubbulpore and Srinagar and effected the conquest of the ceded Nerbada territories, and in the south defeated the Peshwa at Pandakaura in Yeotmal district, and captured Chanda, Bajirao flying westward across southern Berar into the Satpura hills, and finally surrendering in June near Asirgarh, which had been captured in April. In the same year the famous Pindari leader Chitu was driven into the Sitaban jungles north of the Nerbada, where he was devoured by a tiger.

52. After the war the parts of Saugor and Damoh which had been ceded by the Peshwa, and the Nerbada valley territories, with the districts of Mandla, Betul and Seoni, which had been wrested from Appa Sahib, were placed in 1820 under the Administration of an Agent to the Governor-General with the designation of "The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories." On the constitution of the North-western Provinces in 1835 the territories were included in them. In 1842 occurred the Bundela rising, which originated in an attempt of two landholders of Saugor district to resist the execution of civil court decrees. They killed a number of police, and, being joined by some Gond chiefs, burnt and plundered several towns. Order was not restored till the following year, and in consequence of the supposed discredit thrown upon the Administration by the disturbances, Lord Ellenborough vested the general control of the territories in a Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in direct communication with the Supreme Government, the supervision of fiscal and judicial affairs remaining with the Sadar Board and the Sadar Court at Agra. In 1852 they were once more transferred to the Government of the North-western Provinces, under which they remained until the constitution in 1861 of the Central Provinces.

53. On the deposition of Appa Sahib, a grandchild of Raghuji II was placed on the throne of Nagpur, the reduced Bhonsla dominions being administered by the Resident, Sir Richard ^{Nagpur till 1861.}

Jenkins, from 1818 to 1830, in which year the young Raja Raghuji III was allowed to assume the actual government. During this period the restoration of internal tranquility under a strong rule and moderate taxation gave the sorely harassed country an opportunity to recover, and it attained a fair measure of prosperity. For the next twenty years the methods of administration introduced by Sir Richard Jenkins were broadly adhered to, and the government was fairly successful. Raghuji III died in 1853 leaving no natural or adopted heir, and Lord Dalhousie then declared his territories to have lapsed to the Paramount Power. The Nagpur Province, consisting of the present Nagpur Division with Chhindwara and Chhattisgarh, was administered by a Commissioner under the Government of India until the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861, being increased in 1860 by the addition of Sironcha and other *taluqs* on the Godavari river obtained by exchange from the Nizam.

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54. On the conclusion of the war of 1817-18, which had not seriously affected Berar, a treaty was signed in 1822 which fixed the Wardha river as the eastern frontier of the province, the Melghat and the subjacent plain districts being restored to Hyderabad in exchange for the districts east of the Wardha and those held by the Peshwa, and the Maratha claim to *chauth* being extinguished. Between 1803 and 1820 Pindari and Bhil raids had reduced the revenue of Berar by one half, while the administration was very wasteful, no less than 26,000 troops being quartered on the province. General Wellesley had advised in 1804 that the local governor should be forced to reform his military establishment, foretelling the aggravation of civil disorder by the sudden cessation of war. The disbanded troops were too strong for the weak police, while all around the spread of British rule established order and drove all the brigands of India into the Indian states. Berar in consequence was continually harried by bands whose leaders on various pretexts, but always with the real object of plunder, set up the standard of rebellion. Often the British irregular forces had to take the field against them; thus in 1849 the capture of a man pretending to be the dethroned Appa Sahib, who had collected a force of 4,000 men, was only effected after two sharp actions. Throughout those troubles the Hindu *deshmukhs* and *pargana* officials were openly disloyal to the Nizam, doing their best to thwart his commanders and to abet the pretenders. The last fight against open rebels took place at Chichamba near Risod, as late as 1859.

The extinction of Maratha claims to *chauth* benefited Berar but little, for extravagance and maladministration at Hyderabad led to the farming out of the province to usurers. These extor-

tionate farmers-general reduced it to a condition of great misery, which was enhanced by the famine of 1833. Messrs. Palmer & Co., overshadowed the government, and very nearly proved too strong for Sir Charles Metcalfe when he laid the axe to the root of their power; they had made large loans at 24 per cent to the Nizam's government for the maintenance of the numerous cavalry retained for the protection of Berar. Then Puran Mal, a mighty money-lender of Hyderabad, obtained most of Berar in farm, but in 1839 was turned out under pressure from the British Resident. His successors, Messrs. Pestanji & Co., were enterprising Parsi merchants who in 1825-26 made the first considerable exportation of cotton from Berar to Bombay. They gave liberal advances to cotton-growers, set up presses at Khamgaon and other places, and took up, generally, the export of produce from the Nizam's country. In 1841 Chandu Lal, the Hyderabad minister, gave them large assignments of revenue in Berar in repayment of loans to the state; but in 1843 the minister resigned, having brought the state to the verge of bankruptcy, and Messrs. Pestanji were subsequently forced to give up their Berar districts.

55. All these proceedings damaged the state's credit, as Chandu Lal's financing had hampered its revenue; and in 1843 and several succeeding years the pay of the irregular force maintained under the treaty of 1800 had to be advanced by the British Government. In 1850 it had again fallen into heavy arrears, and in 1853 the debt due to the British Government on account of this pay and other unsatisfied claims amounted to 45 lakhs. The bankruptcy of the state disorganized the administration, and the non-payment of the troops continued to be a serious political evil. Accordingly, in 1853, a new treaty was concluded with the Nizam, under which the Hyderabad contingent was to be maintained by the British Government, while for the payment of this force, and in satisfaction of the other claims, districts yielding a gross revenue of 50 lakhs were assigned to the Company. The Berar districts 'assigned' by this treaty are now popularly understood to form the province of Berar, which was administered on behalf of the Government of India by the Resident at Hyderabad, though they coincide in extent neither with the Berar of the Nizams nor with the imperial *subah*. The territory made over under this treaty comprised, besides Berar, the district of Dharaseo and the Raichur *doab*. It was agreed that accounts should be annually rendered to the Nizam, and that any surplus revenue should be paid to him. His Highness was released from the obligation of furnishing a large force in time of war, and the contingent ceased to be a part of his army, and became an auxiliary force kept up by the British Govern-

Berar made
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ment for his use. The provisions of this treaty, which require the submission of annual accounts to the Nizam, were, however, productive of much inconvenience and embarrassing discussions. Difficulties had also arisen regarding the levy of customs duties under the commercial treaty of 1802. To remove these difficulties, and at the same time to reward the Nizam for his services in 1857, a new treaty was concluded in 1860, by which a debt of 50 lakhs due from him was cancelled; and he also received the territory of Surapur, which had been confiscated for the rebellion of the Raja, and the districts of Dharaseo and Raichur were restored to him. On the other hand, he ceded certain districts on the left bank of the Godavari, traffic on which river was to be free from all duties, and agreed that Berar should be held in trust for the purposes specified in the treaty of 1853.

Mutiny. 56. During the Mutiny of 1857 the Northern districts of the Central Provinces alone were seriously disturbed. The native regiments at Saugor rebelled, and the Saugor and Damoh districts passed out of control, the British retaining only the fort and town of Saugor. The Jubbulpore regiment left the station in August, 1857; but a column of Madras troops from Kamptee arrived soon afterwards, and desultory operations were undertaken against the rebels in Jubbulpore and Saugor. Isolated disturbances occurred in Seoni, Mandla, and the Narbada valley. Sir Hugh Rose marched through Saugor early in 1858, took the forts of Rahatgarh and Garhakota, and defeated the insurgents in several engagements, after which order was rapidly restored. A rising had been concerted at Nagpur by a regiment of irregular cavalry and the turbulent spirits in the city, but was defeated by the vigilance of the civil authorities aided by the Madras troops from Kamptee. Isolated disturbances occurred in the interior of Chanda, Raipur, and Sambalpur, but were soon put down. Berar remained quiet, measuring its behaviour not by Delhi, but by Hyderabad. In 1858 Tantia Topi penetrated to the Satpura Hills and tried to break away to the south in order to stir up the Deccan; but he was headed at all outlets and never reached the Berar valley.

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57. After the Mutiny the existence of the Nagpur Province and the Saugor and Narbada territories as isolated units in the centre of India too remote from the head-quarters of any local Government to be administered efficiently, led to the determination to combine them into a fresh province, which was carried into effect in 1861 with the constitution of the Central Provinces under a Chief Commissioner appointed by the Government of India, with his capital at Nagpur. Within the next three years the important additions of Sambalpur with its dependencies, and Nimar were

made to the province; and with the exception of the transfer of the southern half of the Upper Godavari district to Madras in 1874 and a few minor adjustments, the territorial limits of the Central Provinces remained unaltered till the transfer of most of Sambalpur to Bengal, and the exchange with Bengal of certain Feudatory states in 1905. Berar continued to be administered on behalf of the Government of India by the Resident at Hyderabad. It had, however, gradually become apparent since 1860 that the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent on its old footing as a separate force was inexpedient and unnecessary and that the administration of so small a province as Berar as a separate unit was very costly. In 1902 therefore a fresh agreement was entered into with the Nizam. This agreement re-affirmed His Exalted Highness' rights over Berar, which, instead of being indefinitely 'assigned' to the Government of India, was leased in perpetuity at an annual rental of 25 lakhs, and authorized the Government of India to administer the province in such manner as it might deem desirable, as well as to re-distribute, reduce, reorganize and control the Hyderabad contingent, due provision being made, as stipulated in the treaty of 1853, for the protection of His Exalted Highness' Dominions. In pursuance of this agreement the contingent ceased in March 1903 to be a separate force, and was reorganized as an integral part of the Indian Army. In October 1903 Berar was transferred to the administration of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. For the present the rental paid to the Nizam is charged with the annual debit of 10 lakhs towards the repayment of loans made by the Government of India for famine expenditure in Berar, and for famine and other expenditure in Hyderabad state. When these loans have been repaid, the Nizam will receive the full rent of 25 lakhs. The advantages secured to him by the new agreement were that his rights over Berar were re-affirmed and that he will receive 25 lakhs per annum, compared with a sum of between 8 and 9 lakhs, which was the average surplus paid to him under the former treaties.

58. The history of both the Central Provinces and Berar 1861-1892. from 1861 till 1892 was an almost unbroken record of progressive prosperity, checked only by an occasional famine and bad season and unmarked by any salient events. The first preliminary to the development of the Central Provinces, parts of which before 1861 could well be described as "darkest India," was the opening up of communications. Sir Richard Temple in 1862 initiated a vigorous road policy, which was supplemented by a rapid development of railway communications. By 1892 a line of railway had been built running right through the Nerbada valley,

connecting the country with the port of Bombay on the one side, with the port of Calcutta on the other, and, by northerly extensions, with the large towns of Upper India. A second trunk line similarly connected the Berar, Nagpur and Chhattisgarh plains with Bombay and Calcutta, and a cross-line ran from Chhattisgarh to the Nerbada valley. The province, which at the time of its formation had been particularly inaccessible to outside traffic, was thus brought into touch with the outside world, and enabled to find markets for its surplus grain produce which in past years had been left to rot or used for fuel owing to the absence of large towns in the province. The construction of these railways was by far the most important circumstance in the history of British rule in the province, and affected the people more than any other measure of Government. Not only did they add immensely to the silver value of the produce, but, by the development of trade, they led to a much larger increase in production than would have come about from the pressure of population.

59. The railway reached the cotton country of Berar and Nagpur just in time to allow it to take advantage of the high prices of cotton brought about by the American Civil War. The effect was electrical. Berar had since the assignment witnessed a steady restoration and increase of cultivation, and was in a position to take full advantage of the extraordinary stimulus to cotton cultivation supplied by the war. The *raiya*s began to import their supply of food grains so that all available land might be devoted to the cultivation of the profitable cotton crop. Cotton requires much manual toil in weeding, picking, ginning and packing, and the spread of its cultivation created a great demand for rural labour, which operated to raise the standard of wages. A great export of cotton to Bombay was soon established; and as the importation of foreign produce was far from proportionate, much of the return consisted of cash and bullion, so that prices rose and the labouring and producing classes were rapidly enriched. Simultaneously railway and road construction throughout the province caused a wide-spread demand for all the local labour that could be obtained and also the immigration of a large body of labour from other provinces. The people became prosperous and contented, and progress in all directions was vast and rapid.

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60. Famine was the dominant rate in the history of the ten years 1892—1902, which were marked by a series of partial crop failures, culminating in the disastrous famines of 1897 and 1900. The population fell by 9 per cent in the Central Provinces and by 5 per cent in Berar, and there was a great fall in the cultivated area,

though not in the area occupied for cultivation—a hopeful sign. During the seven leanest years the people of the Central Provinces lost produce to the value of Rs. 40 crores, crime increased and the progress of education suffered a serious, though temporary, reverse. There was, however, a great increase in the cultivation of cotton, chiefly in the Nagpur country, and the cultivator of the cotton tracts was the first to recover from the effects of the famines, and in 1902 was as well, if not better off, than he had ever been. The wheat growers of the north showed wonderful staying power against an unparalleled succession of bad seasons. The least power of resistance was shown by the rice-cultivators, with their large population of dependents. Even they by no means gave way to despair; some no doubt went under beyond hope of recovery, but the rest were tenacious of their land. The unstinted liberality of Government, with its famine relief, its remissions and abatements of land revenue, its debt conciliation proceedings, inspired all classes with a feeling of hope, which was one of the brightest auguries of future recovery. The further improvement of communications, the exploitation of rich mineral resources, the development of cotton mills and the extension of education stimulated industrial development. Legislative measures were taken for the protection of agriculturists; disaster rudely shook the complacent idea that whatever is, is best, and the tide was setting strongly towards agricultural improvement and industrial advance.

61. The decade 1902—1912 both in the Central Provinces and Berar thus opened in an atmosphere of hope. The note which dominates its history is one of awakening strength, and in 1912 the province could fairly claim to be allowed to take its place as fully typical of the rest of the Indian Empire and as no longer an entirely backward tract lying outside the lines of progress along which the country as a whole was moving. The salient events of the period were the accession of Berar to the province in 1903, the construction of the Satpura and other narrow gauge railways between 1901 and 1907, and the energetic irrigation policy pursued by the Administration after the famine of 1907. The first led to a shifting of the political and economic balance of the province to an ever greater extent than before in favour of the Maratha tract and Nagpur, to a large addition to the Government revenues and consequent greater efficiency in administration, and to an increased provincial interest in the valuable cotton crop and in the industries which are concerned in its export and manufacture. The effect of the narrow gauge lines was the opening up to cultivation and the colonisation of areas hitherto undeveloped, and a great addition to the value of the national forest estate.

1902—12.
Recovery.

62. During the decade there was a remarkable rise in prices and wages, the latter owing to the greatly increased demand for labour on railway construction, for cotton gins and manganese mines, and to the diminution in the labour supply caused by the decline in population between 1892 and 1902. Trade returns steadily rose, and with them the standard of popular comfort. Perhaps, however, the event of the decade most important in its future effect on the prosperity of the people will prove to have been the inauguration of the co-operative credit movement in 1905 after the passing in 1904 of the first Act for the regulation and control of cooperative credit societies. The debt conciliation policy initiated by Government after the famines had been very successful in combating the spread of agricultural indebtedness; that policy, however, had been remedial only. The cooperative movement was a new and positive policy of prevention, and at once took a firm hold, with the result that in 1912 585 societies were already in existence, with an annual turn-over of 15 lakhs of rupees.

63. Another marked feature of the years 1902-1912 was an increased readiness of parents to educate their children. The first few years of the decade witnessed a gradual recovery from the setback to education caused by the famines. In about 1905 a great spontaneous revival began, and the number of pupils in 1912 was almost double that in 1902. Mere figures do not fully represent the general improvement effected. In vernacular schools the introduction of trained and certificated teachers gave an entirely new tone to the teaching and atmosphere of the school, and their arrival almost always heralded an increase in the attendance. In high schools and colleges greater attendance was paid to the moral and physical well-being of the pupils, and the tone of college life was revolutionised by well-managed hostels, organised games, and the taking by the staff of a more personal interest in the students. A beginning was made with technical and scientific education.

112-1922.

64. The history of these last ten years is extremely complex. Some of the main economic factors which effected it have already been explained in paragraph 16 of Part III of this report: and their effect on the population, which fell slightly during the decade, is fully discussed in the chapter which summarises the results of the Census of 1921. If, owing to the famines of 1918-19 and of 1920-21, and especially to the disastrous influenza epidemic which accompanied the former, some of the hopes born of the events and tendencies of the opening years of the century have not been fully realized, yet the province can point with pride to the wonderful power of resistance showed in

the calamities that preceded the passing of the old régime, to its great industrial advance since 1912, to the fact that for the first time it was able to send men and material to the assistance of the empire in the hour of her gravest need; while above all the years 1912--1920 witnessed political developments of far-reaching importance, which were the crown and recognition of the moral and material progress of the people of the province. That the new system should have been inaugurated when the Administration was in the throes of the financial and economic difficulties which were the legacy of war and famine, was a great misfortune. It was aggravated by the fact that political agitators seized the opportunity to exploit the economic distress of large sections of the people for the purposes of an anti-Government propaganda of a bitterness and intensity unparalleled in this province at least, which had the temporary effect of obscuring from the popular mind gratitude for the past efforts of the Government on their behalf. On this agitation it is needless to dwell: in the body of this report and especially in the annual departmental chapters will be found details of its mischievous activities, and, it may be said with confidence, many signs of the decline of its strength, and of the revival of the old feelings of loyalty amongst the rural population, if not in the towns; there too, however, the abortive nature of the non-co-operation programme has become more and more apparent, and people, if still distrustful of "bureaucratic" works and ways, are gradually realising the fact that in the working of the reforms lies the avenue to the rapid attainment of their cherished ambitions. Even this agitation may prove to have had some good results if it has accustomed a larger section of the people to interest themselves in political problems.

65. The decade, while it witnessed a real but temporary set back in the extent of agriculture, with a fall in the net cropped area of more than two million acres between 1915-16 and 1920-21, experienced, however, a remarkable development in the activities of the agricultural, irrigation, and cooperative departments, a great increase in the exploitation of the province's mineral resources, particularly of coal and limestone, and the establishment of a new department of industries. In the popularisation of all departmental schemes, the Administration was from 1914 onwards greatly hampered by the shortage of staff due to the war: yet the last annual report on the working of the Agricultural Department is able to claim that over one million acres of land are now sown with the department's improved seed; between 1915 and 1921 over 5,500 improved sleys were sold to weavers in the province, adding very considerably to the earnings of a small

percentage of the weavers of the province: the area irrigated by Government irrigation works rose from 28,319 acres in 1911-12 to 439,221 acres in 1921-22: the number of cooperative societies in 1912 was 585, with a cash turn-over of nearly Rs. 15 lakhs; in June 1922 it was 4,967, with a membership of 160,000, a cash turn-over of a little less than Rs. 8 crores and a working capital of Rs. 316 lakhs. Interesting details of the general industrial advance of the province will be found in paragraphs 290 to 292 below. Industrial establishments employing ten or more workers in 1921 numbered 561, of which 468, against 307 in 1911, employed twenty or more workers: the number of workers in these establishments rose in the decade 1911—21 from 56,618 to 80,185.

66. The two following quotations from official reports well summarise the effect of these recent developments upon the agricultural classes, which still comprise 75 per cent of the population of the province:

"The condition of agriculturists was undoubtedly better than it has been within living memory and probably better than ever before in the history of the province. On all sides one hears the same story. Agriculturists in the cotton districts are adopting new and expensive habits, such as early morning tea, and the frequenting of 'hotels' and eating houses in large towns. Their good fortune is the envy of the clerical and professional classes who once despised them. The independence of the labourer nowadays is notorious, but the exceedingly high wages which are so much in evidence are by no means, as yet, universal, and in many rural districts wages have lagged far behind the rise in prices."*

"The fact is that agricultural employment is not now so serious a matter for these provinces as it was a couple of decades ago. It is a fortunate circumstance that some of the most insecure tracts are now the centres of the manganese, coal and cement industries, and that others supply large numbers of labourers to the mines and iron works of Bihar and Orissa when agricultural employment fails. The extension of railway communication into some of the forest tracts has greatly improved the position of the jungle tribes, who now find employment in providing for the needs of distant centres of population and industry. Add to this the fact that the large Government irrigation works secure against want large areas which a few years ago were a source of constant anxiety, and that the profits of agriculture have of late years increased so largely that the cultivator is no longer in the same extent dependent on the crop of the year, and it is easy to understand that the failure of a crop is no longer the dire calamity it was twenty years ago. It may be confidently expected that expenditure on the relief of famine will never again be required on the same scale as in 1899-1900, and in making provision against future famines, the figures of that calamitous year must be heavily discounted."†

* Paragraph 31, Season and Crop Report for the Central Provinces and Berar for the year 1919-20.

† Report on Famine and Scarcity in the Central Provinces and Berar during the year 1920-21, paragraph 33.

67. But the most striking developments since 1911 have been political. Before August 1914 all legislation for the Central Provinces was effected by the Imperial Legislative Council, and much delay resulted therefrom in the enacting of essential measures. In August 1914 the first Legislative Council of the Central Provinces met, the provisions of the three Indian Council Acts of 1861, 1892 and 1909 having been made applicable to the province by proclamations in November 1913. This was in itself a great recognition of the progress made by the province, which at one step passed through all the stages of political development which in other provinces represented nearly fifty years of gradual advance. During the six years of its existence, the Council did useful work, overhauling the Excise, Land Revenue and Tenancy laws of the province, making provision for compulsory primary education in local areas, re-modelling the District Councils and Local Boards of the Central Provinces on the basis of extended franchise, wider financial powers and greater freedom from official control, and enacting the Village Sanitation and Village Panchayat Acts.

68. Of the most recent advance, the Reforms inaugurated in December 1920 under the Government of India Act of 1919, little need be said here, as the changes effected are fully described in the next chapter of this report. The Reforms were inaugurated under the great economic and political difficulties already described; the following quotation from the Administration Report for 1920-21 shows something of their effect on the elections :—" The electoral rolls were prepared and revised in time to permit of the holding of the elections in November 1920. The difficulty of preparing a correct roll, which would have been considerable in the most favourable circumstances, was increased by the lack of interest shown by the electors, whose distrust of the object of the proceedings was in some cases so great that they protested against the entry of their names in the rolls, fearing that this was a preliminary to fresh taxation. Following the decision of the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 in favour of the boycott of the new Councils, the non-cooperation party put forth vigorous efforts to render the elections abortive. Every form of pressure was brought to bear on candidates and voters alike, and in some places intimidation, either direct or indirect, was freely used. No candidate was nominated for election in seven constituencies, and out of 52 constituencies, 33 were uncontested. Out of 51,457 voters in contested constituencies, 11,566 voters or 22 per cent attended the polls, the poor percentage being due partly to the non-cooperation campaign and partly to the novelty of the franchise and the general backwardness of the electorate."

69. No account of the progress of the province would be complete without a reference to the growth of a new spirit of self-assertion among the non-Brahman and the depressed classes. Indications of the revolt against Brahman superiority are the strength of the Satnami and Kabirpanthi religions among the Chamars and other low castes of Chhattisgarh; the significant and powerful Maratha Kunbi caste movement, which arose out of a desire, fostered by education, to become independent of Brahmanical religious ascendancy; and the more recent rise in Berar of the "Satyashodhak" organisation of non-Brahman classes. Last but not least must be noted the rapid growth of a class self-consciousness and ambition amongst the Mahars and other depressed classes, which is finding vent in a demand for increased educational facilities and employment in the public services.

CHAPTER III;

THE CONSTITUTION.

70. For a detailed discussion of the circumstances which inspired the decision of His Majesty's Government to inaugurate the policy of which the Government of India Act, 1919, and the reformed governments and councils were the first fruits, reference must be made to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The policy was summarized by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1917, as one "of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". Put briefly, the problem to solve which the reforms were framed "has its roots in the co-existence of the illiterate agricultural masses of India, which form the vast majority of her population, with a minority of immense political importance, highly educated, and rapidly increasing in numbers. The main difficulty in its solution is that of reconciling the growth of political self-consciousness in the educated classes and their legitimate demand for a share in the administration of their own country with the apathy and political incapacity of the masses". Looked at in another light the cause of the problem has been the necessity of ensuring that the democratic and responsible form of government, which has been the demand of advanced Indian opinion and the ultimate goal of British administration, should not sooner or later give place on the one hand to anarchy and the mob rule of uneducated masses or on the other "to the substitution under a democratic disguise of an Indian for a British oligarchy". The problem is rendered still more complex by the vast size of India, and by the "series of cleavages, of religion, race, and caste", which run through India and "constantly threaten its solidarity". Finally, to secure the political education of this huge area with its vast and diverse population it is clear that the political unit had to be something smaller than India as a whole; this inspired the scheme of devolution of powers from the Central to the Provincial Governments, the spirit of which is thus summarized in the second basic formula of the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions

The antecedents of the Reforms of 1919.

permit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities."

The new constitution was inaugurated in this province on December 17th, 1920, with the installation as Governor of the Central Provinces of His Excellency Sir Frank Sly, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., the province being on that day raised to the status of a Governor's province. Elections for the reformed Legislative Council were held in November 1920, and the Council entered upon its duties in the following January.

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constitution.

71. This new constitution, which has no exact parallel in constitutional history, is only intelligible in the light of the conditions of the problem which it attempts to solve. It is a fluid and transitional constitution, forming a conscious link between a bureaucratic past and a democratic future. It marks a period of political education which can only be achieved through the gradual, but expanding exercise of responsibility. It represents a peaceful revolution, as a result of which an executive responsible not directly to the people governed, but to an external sovereign power, has voluntarily transferred the major part of its responsibilities for certain important functions of government to Ministers responsible to an electorate, while it has reserved not only complete responsibility for certain other functions, but a modified responsibility even for those transferred to Ministers. This co-ordination of two different principles of government forms the essential feature of the new constitution, both in the Legislative and in the Executive, while the Governor represents in his own person the principle of co-ordination and the sanction which unites the two elements into the single body politic which is the Government.

Executive.
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Ministers.

72. In the Executive the two principles are represented in the Central Provinces, on the one hand by the Governor in Council and on the other by the Governor acting with his Ministers. The Governor in Council consists of the Governor and two Executive Councillors. The Governor and the members of his Executive Council are appointed by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, the former after consultation with the Governor-General. Of the Executive Councillors, one at least must be a person who when appointed has been not less than twelve years in the service of the Crown in India. The Governor appoints one member of the Executive Council to be its Vice-President, and to preside in his own absence; and in the case of the office of Governor falling vacant, the Vice-President, or in his absence the other member of the Executive Council acts as

Governor. The Governor may make rules and orders for the transaction of business in his Executive Council and when acting with his Ministers, and for regulating the relations between his Executive Council and his Ministers for the purpose of the transaction of the business of the Local Government. In the event of a difference of opinion arising at a meeting of the Executive Council, the decision of the majority prevails, the President having a second or casting vote when opinion is equally divided: but under certain circumstances whenever in the Governor's opinion an adverse decision of his Executive Council essentially affects the safety, tranquillity or interests of the whole or part of the province, he can override it. The Governor in Council is responsible directly to the Governor-General and to the Crown. The Ministers, two in number, are appointed by the Governor to administer transferred subjects; they hold office during his pleasure, and must not be members of the Executive Council or other officials. They may not hold office for more than six months unless they are or become elected members of the Legislative Council; they thus virtually hold office at the will of their constituents and are responsible to the electorate. The Governor may also appoint from among the non-official members of the local legislature Council Secretaries, who hold office at his pleasure, discharge such duties in assisting members of the Executive Council and Ministers as he may assign to them, and must cease to hold office if they cease for more than six months to be members of the Legislative Council.

73. The two arms of the Executive have separate functions. The Governor in Council is responsible for what are called "Reserved" subjects, which include, broadly, law and order, the administration of justice, police and prisons, and the sources of

Reserved
and
Transferred
subjects.

Transferred Subjects.

Local Self-Government,
Medical Administration,
Public Health and Sanitation,
Pilgrimages within British India,
Education, other than European and Anglo-Indian education,
and Chiefs' Colleges,
Public Works, Roads and Buildings,
Agriculture and Fisheries,
Civil Veterinary Department,
Co-operative Societies,
Excise,
Registration,
Religious and charitable endowments,
Development of industries,
Stores and Stationery required for transferred departments,
Adulteration of food-stuffs, etc.,
Weights and measures,
Libraries, Museums and Zoological gardens.

Imperial Revenue; a list of the subjects transferred in this province is given in the margin; roughly speaking, they comprise what are popularly referred to as the "nation-building" activities of Government. For the administration of these sub-

jects the Ministers are responsible to the electorate; and in relation

to them, Section 52 (3) of the Government of India Act lays down that the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. It is further laid down in general terms in the Instructions which the Governor has received from the Crown that in respect of transferred subjects the Governor's responsibility is shared with his Ministers and must be kept distinct from the direct responsibility of the Governor in Council to the Crown for reserved subjects; and he is warned that in considering a Minister's advice and deciding whether or not there are sufficient grounds to dissent from his opinion, he shall pay due regard to the Minister's relations with the Legislative Council and to the wishes of the people as expressed by their representatives therein. The transference of power from official control to responsible Ministers which has been thus effected needs no emphasis; and it will appear later what further influence the Legislature is able to exercise over the Executive by means of resolutions, by the voting of funds for the carrying on of the administration, and through the recommendations both of Standing Committees and of Committees specially appointed at the Council's request.

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74. Cohesion between the two arms of the Executive is secured in various ways. The Governor is bound by his Instrument of Instructions, while keeping the responsibilities of the two parts of the Government clear and distinct, to encourage the habit of joint deliberation before himself of his Councillors and his Ministers in order to place the official experience of the former at the disposal of the Ministers and to keep the Councillors through the Ministers in touch with popular feeling. This practice of associated deliberation of the whole Executive on both transferred and reserved subjects and on the framing of the budget operates to unite both elements, though in each case the decision rests with that part of the Executive responsible for the particular subject involved. In practice the functions of each arm frequently overlap: and in such cases the decision as to the department by which action shall be taken rests with the Governor, who is also the umpire in all cases of doubt as to whether any matter relates to a reserved or a transferred subject. But as both parts of the Executive have the common object of the good administration of the province they realise their interdependence and the expediency of mutual forbearance as an alternative to the submission of their differences to the controlling decision of the Governor.

75. It is convenient here to note the part played by the Secretariat, Heads of Departments and the Public Services in the scheme of the new constitution. No vital change has been made in their functions. The various well-defined branches of Government's activities, such as Education, Agriculture, Prisons, Medical Administration, Public Health, Excise, Cooperative Societies, Police, Forests, Land Records, Survey and Settlement, etc., continue to be administered by Heads of Departments. The post of Financial Commissioner was abolished in 1921 by an Act of the Central Provinces Legislature and his functions, both as chief controlling revenue authority and as chief court of revenue appeal, were transferred to the Finance Member of Council. Reports, complaints and suggestions made by Heads of Departments, by the Divisional and District staff, and by local bodies, are still dealt with in the Secretariat by the Secretaries, assisted by their staff. Including the Legal Secretary, there are now four Civil Secretaries, assisted by three Under Secretaries and two Assistant Secretaries (including the Assistant Legal Secretary); while the two Chief Engineers, the Director of Public Instruction, and from January 1st, 1923, the Commissioner of Settlements act also as Secretaries to Government in the respective departments of which they are the heads. While the Governor in Council, the Governor acting with his Ministers, and the Legislative Council necessarily originate executive and legislative measures, the Secretaries still perform the function of a body of expert advisers with first-hand administrative knowledge of the problems with which Government has to deal. The presence of a selected number of these officers in the Legislative Council further serves the purpose of providing assistance to both Executive Councillors and Ministers in the exposition of Government policy. The authority vested in the Local Government over officers of the public services employed in the province is exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of that department, subject to the proviso that no order affecting emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial may be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or a provincial service and no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service may be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor, who is further especially charged in his Instrument of Instructions to safeguard all Government servants employed in the province in the legal exercise of their functions and in the enjoyment of all their recognised rights and privileges.

Relation
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76. Before passing on to describe the relations between the provincial Executive and Legislature, it may be as well to note here the main lines of the division of the responsibilities between the Indian and Provincial Governments and Legislatures, and the extent to which the Local Government is subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council and the Secretary of State in Council. Throughout India the subject-matter of Government is, by the Devolution Rules made under the Government of India Act, divided into central and provincial subjects. Central subjects comprise broadly all those matters affecting the safety or interests of all India for which it is essential that there should be one law and one authority throughout the country, such as defence, foreign relations, relations with Indian States, railways, airways and inland waterways, posts and telegraphs, customs, excise and income-tax, currency and coinage, public debt, savings banks, public audit, civil law, commerce, trading companies, surveys, opium, control of industries and manufactures in cases where central control is expedient, mines and minerals, migration, patents and copyright, criminal law and procedure, arms and ammunition, census and statistics, etc. All central subjects are outside the jurisdiction of the Local Government and Legislature, and in addition many provincial subjects are liable to such legislation as may be passed by the Indian Legislature concerning them. The Local Government is bound to furnish periodical returns and information as to its administration of provincial subjects to the Governor-General in Council who is empowered, with the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, to revoke or suspend the transfer of any provincial subject to the control of Ministers. Provincial subjects are administered by the Local Government, subject, save to a defined extent in the case of transferred subjects, to the general powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Governor-General in Council by the Government of India Act. The Governor-General in Council's general powers of superintendence, direction and control over the Local Government may, in relation to transferred subjects, be exercised only to safeguard the administration of central subjects, to decide disputes between two provinces, and to safeguard the due exercise and performance of any powers and duties possessed by or imposed upon him by certain provisions of the Government of India Act, or of any rules made by or with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. The Secretary of State in Council retains the power to interfere with the administration of transferred subjects in order to safeguard the administration of central subjects, to decide disputes between two provinces, to safeguard imperial interests, to determine the position of the Government of India in respect of questions arising

between India and other parts of the British Empire, and to safeguard the due exercise and performance of various duties imposed upon the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council by the Government of India Act, or of any rules made by him or with his sanction. He retains also a measure of control over the creation, abolition and emoluments of posts in transferred departments.

77. The Executive has been seen to resemble a body with two arms, which, while each has its distinct functions, are yet members of one body, drawing their strength from and controlled by one head, of mutual assistance to each other, and capable of the most effective action only when united. The Ministers form a connecting link between the Executive and the elected element of the Legislative. Apart from its main function of legislation, the Legislative Council, which has now a large elected majority, plays an important part in influencing the Executive in three main ways. The Provincial Legislature: its relation to the Executive.

78. First, it may carry resolutions expressed in the form of recommendations to Government on any reserved or transferred subject, only matters affecting the relations of His Majesty's Government, the Government of India, the Governor or the Governor in Council with any foreign state or with any Prince or Chief under His Majesty's suzerainty, or relating to the affairs of such Prince or Chief, and matters under adjudication in any Court of Law in any part of the Empire being specifically excluded from the subjects on which resolutions may be moved. The Governor has the power to disallow any resolution or part of a resolution on the ground that its moving will be detrimental to the public interest, or that it relates to a matter not primarily the concern of the Local Government. These resolutions though not binding on Government, carry weight as the expression of the will of the elected representatives of the people, and impel Government either to take steps to give effect to their recommendations or to issue an explanation of its reasons for not doing so. The exercise by Council members of their right to obtain information by means of questions and supplementary questions helps also to enlarge the Council's knowledge of the functions of the Executive and to bring to the latter's notice matters arousing public interest or criticism. The adjournment of the business of Council may also be moved with the President's consent and under specified conditions, in order to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, on which a resolution could not be moved. The Governor may disallow such a motion on the same grounds as those on which he may disallow a resolution. Council resolutions, questions and motions for adjournment.

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79. The second channel for the inter-communication of ideas between the two bodies consists in the Standing Committees, of which in addition to the statutory Committee on Public Accounts ten have been constituted, for Finance, for Judicial, Police, Jails and General Administration, for Land Revenue, Settlements and Land Records, for Forests, for Irrigation, for Public Works and Local Self-Government, for Public Health and Medical Relief, for Education, for Cooperative Credit, and for Excise. These Committees not only familiarize non-official members of the Legislative Council other than Ministers with the processes of administration, but also make relations between the Executive and the Legislature more intimate. These aims are also furthered by a number of other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, such as the committees recently appointed to report on the supply of *rasad* and *begar*, the improvement of the conditions of the depressed classes, travelling allowances, retrenchment, etc., of which the largest element consists of non-official members of the Council.

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80. The third and perhaps the most effective channel consists in the new control over finance which has been granted to the provincial Legislature. As the importance of this control by the Legislature cannot be estimated without reference to the financial independence now given to provincial Governments, a short description must be given of the nature of the separation which has now taken place between the finances of the Government of India and of the provinces. The object of this separation is not only to remove the necessity for control and interference by the Central Government but also to render the provinces independent of that Government for the means of their development. Subject to certain minor restrictions on the use of current revenues, which are explained below, the province has now independent control over its own sources of revenue.

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81. These are classified in the Devolution Rules under eight heads. The first is the balances standing at the credit of the province when the Act came into force, in other words, the accumulated savings of the last sixty years. Complete freedom has been granted to draw on this balance, subject only to the necessity to give due notice at the beginning of the year to the Government of India, which, moreover, has the power in a financial emergency to limit temporarily, in the interests of India as a whole, the amount which may be withdrawn. The second comprises receipts accruing in respect of any provincial subjects, other than matters pertaining to a central subject in respect of which powers have been conferred by or under any law on the Local Government; of these the most important are Land Revenue, Irrigation, Excise, Forests

and Stamps. The third source of revenue consists in a share of the tax realized on any increase in the assessable income of the province over and above the income taxed in 1920-21; the amount of this share is three pies on each rupee of the increase of the assessable income. The fourth comprises recoveries of loans and advances given by the Local Government and of interest paid on such loans. Money thus repaid merges in the general balance, and is not earmarked for any special purpose; in the framing of the budget, however, it should be remembered that the proper use of such recoveries is to liquidate the provincial debt on the loan account with the Government of India. This is therefore in general not a source from which provincial expansion is possible, though if the loans outstanding were at any time reduced by forcing local bodies to rely more on their own resources, recoveries could then be used for general provincial expenditure. The fifth source of revenue consists of payments made to the Local Government by the Governor-General in Council or by other Local Governments for services rendered or otherwise. The sixth comprises the proceeds of any taxes which may be lawfully imposed for provincial purposes: the Governor-General's previous sanction is necessary before the Legislative Council may make and take into consideration any law imposing taxes, except taxes on non-agricultural land, on succession, on any form of betting and gambling permitted by law, on advertisements, on amusements, on luxuries, or by way of registration fees and stamp duties other than duties of which the amount is fixed by Indian legislation, and certain other taxes for the benefit of local authorities; in other cases the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council is necessary. The seventh source of revenue comprises the proceeds of any loans which may be lawfully raised for provincial purposes: the Local Government under Section 30 (1a) of the Government of India Act may now on behalf and in the name of the Secretary of State in Council raise loans on the security of the provincial revenues in the open market: rules made under Section 30 (1a) restrict this power by specifying certain purposes for which alone loans can be raised and by making it necessary to obtain the sanction of either the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council according as the loan is raised in England or in India; and it is further laid down in the Devolution Rules that any proposal for taxation or for borrowing must be considered by the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together, the ultimate decision being made by that arm of the Executive with which the proposal originated. The eighth and last source of provincial revenue comprises any other sources declared by order of the Governor-General in Council to be sources of provincial revenue. Besides the above sources common

to all provinces, the revenues of Berar are allocated to the Local Government of the Central Provinces as a source of provincial revenue subject to the conditions that that Local Government is responsible for the due administration of Berar, and that the Governor-General in Council may terminate or diminish the allocation if in his opinion due provision has not been made for expenditure necessary for the safety and tranquillity of Berar. With the reservations made above the whole of the provincial revenues are available for provincial expenditure subject only to the necessity to discharge certain obligations to the Central Government. Of these the first is the payment of an annual contribution to the Governor-General in Council which amounted in 1921-22 to Rs. 22 lakhs, future instalments being the same, unless in any year the present total contribution of Rs. 983 lakhs paid by the Local Governments of all the provinces concerned is reduced by the Governor-General in Council to such an extent that the last previous annual contribution of Rs. 22 lakhs made by the Central Provinces exceeds five-ninetieths ($\frac{5}{9}$ ths) of the reduced sum thus fixed by the Governor-General in Council as the total of all provincial contributions, in which case the Central Provinces contribution will be reduced by an amount proportionate to that excess; the power is, moreover, reserved to the Governor-General in Council in case of emergency with the sanction of the Secretary of State to increase the provincial contribution. The Local Government is bound, secondly, to repay to the Governor-General in Council from April 1st, 1921, money due on account of advances made from the provincial loan account, and, thirdly, to pay interest on the capital expenditure incurred by the Governor-General in Council in the construction of irrigation works in the province; of these the latter is a charge fixed in perpetuity; while in the case of the former charge, the ordinary term of twelve years from April 1st, 1921, within which it has to be repaid in other provinces, has been extended to twenty years as a special concession to this province, which was in financial difficulties owing to a severe crop failure at the time of the inauguration of the Reforms; this concession is, however, subject to reconsideration in 1924 with reference to the financial position of the province at that time. The Governor-General in Council may also at any time make the Local Government an advance on such terms as he may think fit. The payment of interest on these three kinds of loans and advances and the repayment of the principal of the last-mentioned advances have priority over all other charges on the provincial revenues save only the annual contribution to the Governor-General in Council. The Local Government is further under obligation to accumulate a fund to deal with famine emergencies, known as the Famine Insurance Fund, for which in every budget an annual assignment of

Rs. 47,26,000 must be made, which may only be expended on famine relief, or on the construction of protective irrigation or other works for the prevention of famine or on the advance of loans under the Agriculturists' Loans Act; the portion of the assignment which is not so spent is transferred to the provincial Famine Insurance Fund, which forms part of the general balances in the hands of the Governor-General in Council; and when the accumulated balance becomes not less than six times the annual assignment the Local Government may temporarily suspend the provision of the annual assignment.

82. With reference to a resolution passed by the Legislative Council in March 1921, the Local Government appointed a Committee to submit a scheme for a financial settlement between the Central Provinces and Berar, designed, while safeguarding the necessary requirements of a single Government, to secure that a reasonable share of Berar revenues shall be spent for the benefit of Berar. A brief summary is given of the recommendations of the Committee, which have been accepted by the Local Government. In order to assess the comparative contributions of the Central Provinces and of Berar to the joint revenues of the province, the only heads of revenue which can fairly be taken into account are Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Medical, Agriculture, Civil Works, and the net receipts from Forests and Irrigation: of the total contributions under these two heads in the last two years the Central Provinces contributed three-fifths and Berar two-fifths. Provincial expenditure may be divided into "central" and "divisible" expenditure: "central" includes expenditure on Land Revenue, Excise, Registration, General Administration, Administration of Justice, Police, Jails, and certain other heads, which must be regulated by the needs of the province as a whole, and cannot be distributed between the Central Provinces and Berar according to the work done in the two areas, and, of the expenditure made compulsory by the Devolution Rules, the annual provincial contribution to the Governor-General in Council, the Famine Insurance Fund, and interest on the capital expenditure incurred by the Governor-General in Council in the construction in the province of *protective* irrigation works, which in the past were financed from the "Famine Grant", and in the future will be financed from the Famine Insurance Fund; "divisible" expenditure includes the statutory charge of interest on capital expenditure incurred by the Governor-General in Council on the construction of *productive* irrigation works, miscellaneous irrigation expenditure, expenditure on irrigation works financed from ordinary revenues, on civil works other than major works in connection with provin-

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cial subjects the expenditure on which is "central," on public health grants to local bodies, and, subject to the proviso that superintending and inspecting staffs and any institutions maintained for the benefit of the whole province are to be treated as "central" expenditure, on education, medical administration, agriculture and industries. The *total* money available for expenditure under these "divisible" heads is to be distributed between the Central Provinces and Berar in the same proportion of three-fifths to the Central Provinces and two-fifths to Berar as the contributions derived from the two localities; and in future the annual financial statement is to show the comparative contributions for the budget year of each locality and the distribution of the "divisible" expenditure between each according to the budget proposals. This proportion of three-fifths to two-fifths is to be altered only at long intervals and when a radical change in the proportion of the comparative contributions has become apparent; and for the present the Local Government has decided that it will not ordinarily review the proportion except at intervals of not less than five years. The application of this formula of distribution is under no circumstances to have the effect of reducing fixed recurring expenditure or to involve the stopping of any previously sanctioned original work which is in progress: if therefore in any year the total expenditure of either the Central Provinces or Berar on recurring charges or works in progress exceeds its proportionate share of the total divisible expenditure, new items of expenditure in that locality must be reduced to an amount sufficient to restore the balance. In this financial settlement no account is taken of loans, it being assumed that receipts on account of loans granted by the Local Government to cultivators or local bodies will be counterbalanced on the side of expenditure by payments on account of the money borrowed for financing the provincial loan account, so long as the provincial loan account is financed by borrowed money; should it be ever financed out of provincial revenues, the payment of interest on loans made by the Local Government would represent a net revenue; this income, however, it would obviously be impossible to distribute, as its source could only be the lending out of a provincial balance, and it is not proposed to distribute such balances between Berar and the Central Provinces.

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83. Such are the main conditions of the financial autonomy of the province. The relaxation in part of the external financial control of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India has been accompanied by a corresponding introduction of internal financial control by the Legislative Council over the Executive.

The framing of the budget proposals are a matter for agreement between all the members of the Local Government, the Governor having the power, if the members of his Executive Council and the Ministers are unable to agree as to the apportionment of funds between reserved and transferred subjects, himself to specify the fractional proportions of the revenues and balances to be assigned to each class of subject, either on his own discretion or in accordance with the report of a referee appointed at his request by the Governor-General; in default of both agreement and of order of allocation, the budget is prepared on the basis of the aggregate grants for reserved and transferred subjects in the previous budget. When prepared the budget estimates are presented to the Legislative Council in the form of a series of demands or grants. These demands are then voted on by the Council, which may decide that they be granted, refused, or reduced. In accordance, however, with English constitutional practice, proposals for appropriation must emanate from Government, and the Legislative Council may not vote for the increase of a grant or alter its destination. There are certain other limitations on the Council's control.

84. First, it is restricted to "voted" heads of expenditure, certain subjects being excluded by the Government of India Act from the Council's control. These are contributions payable to the Governor-General in Council, charges on loans, expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by law, salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council. Secondly, the degree of control is greater over expenditure on "transferred" than on "reserved" subjects. The Legislative Council's control over the voting of "transferred" expenditure is final, except for an emergency power reserved to the Governor to authorise expenditure, even though it has not been voted by the Council, in the interests of the safety and tranquillity of the province, or to enable a department to be carried on. But in the case of "reserved" subjects, the Local Government may in relation to any demand act as if it had been assented to even though it has been refused or reduced by the Legislative Council, if the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. The decision of the Governor is final as to whether any subject is "voted" or "non-voted."

85. These powers of control are exercised by the Legislative Council at the stage of the passing of the budget.

estimates, that is to say, just before the beginning of each financial year. The effective exercise of these powers is further ensured by the appointment under the Devolution Rules of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts. This Committee is composed of a two-thirds majority elected by the non-official members of the Council on the principle of proportionate representation by means of the single transferable vote, the remainder being members of the Legislature nominated by the Governor. The Finance Member of the Executive Council is Chairman, and in the case of equally-divided voting, has a second or casting vote. Its function is to scrutinise the provincial audit and appropriation accounts and to satisfy itself that money voted by the Council has been spent within the the scope of demands granted by the Council. It is therefore bound to bring to the Council's notice every reappropriation from one grant to another, such as transfer of money voted for Medical Administration to Education, every reappropriation within a grant which is not made in accordance with the rules regulating the Finance Department, or which has the effect of increasing the expenditure on an item the provision for which has been specifically reduced by a vote of the Council, and all expenditure which the Finance Department has requested should be brought to the notice of the Council. In order to enable the Committee to discharge these functions there are laid before it the Audit and Appropriation Reports, prepared by the independent agency of the Accountant-General and the Auditor-General. The Public Accounts Committee scrutinize these reports with a view to drawing the attention of the Legislature to objectionable items of the nature referred to above. The Public Accounts Committee has also been appointed to act as a non-statutory Standing Committee of the Legislative Council for Finance, in which capacity it co-ordinates the suggestions of the various departmental Standing Committees by examining and advising upon all important schemes involving (a) expenditure which it is proposed to incur during the current year, but for which no budget provision exists, and (b) new expenditure for which it is proposed to budget in the following year, after these schemes have been scrutinised by the departmental Standing Committees; and, further, it advises on any possibility of retrenchment and on other matters referred to it, such as loans, problems of taxation and fresh sources of revenue.

86. The internal control of the Legislative Council is
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 tment. supplemented by the close supervision exercised by the provincial Finance Department, appointed under the Devolution Rules, of which the head is the Finance Member of the Executive Council.

This department is responsible for the safety of the Famine Insurance Fund and for watching the Local Government's balances, and its advice must be taken on all important questions of finance. It examines all taxation and borrowing proposals, prepares the budget, advises on all schemes for new expenditure; and it must be consulted before the grant of any loan or advance, other than loans under the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts, is sanctioned, before variations are made in the emoluments of posts and before posts are created or abolished, or new rights, such as mineral, forest or water-power rights, or assignments of land revenue are created and before proposals are accepted involving either expenditure for which no provision has been made in the budget, or the abandonment of revenue for which credit has been taken in the budget. The assent of the Finance Department is, however, assumed to have been given to questions affecting posts, when budget provision exists, or the expenditure proposed is non-recurring and can be met by reappropriation within a grant between heads subordinate to a minor head, when the case does not involve the interpretation of a financial rule or a reference to the Government of India, and when the extra expenditure forms no part of any general scheme involving the creation of a new or the revision of an existing establishment. Its assent is also assumed in cases involving the creation of new rights, the abandonment of budgeted revenue or the incurring of unbudgeted expenditure, where such cases fall within the scope of departmental codes and rules or standing orders of the Local Government, or, in the case of rights to water-power, if no financial consideration is involved: this is subject to the proviso that the Finance Department must be consulted before such standing rules or standing orders are amended. Finally it ensures that audit irregularities are remedied, and it is its duty not only to lay the Audit and Appropriation Reports before the Public Accounts Committee, but also to bring to that Committee's notice all expenditure which has not been duly authorised and any financial irregularities.

87. Under Section 80-A of the Government of India Act the local Legislature has now the power of making any law for the peace and good government of the Central Provinces, and of repealing or altering, with effect in the Central Provinces, any law made after or before the commencement of the Act by any authority in British India other than that local Legislature. In certain cases however the previous sanction of the Governor-General is necessary; of these the chief are laws affecting central subjects, laws imposing new taxes, unless such taxes are scheduled as exempted from this provi-

The legislative powers of the Legislative Council.

sion, laws affecting the naval, military or air forces of the Crown, or foreign relations, laws regulating any provincial subject in respect of matter subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, and laws which repeal or alter either certain specified laws made before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, or such subsequent Acts of the Indian Legislature as under those Acts cannot be repealed or altered without previous sanction. The assent of the Governor is in all cases necessary after a Bill has been passed by the Legislative Council ; and the Governor, instead of assenting, may return a Bill for reconsideration in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he may recommend. He may also reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General any Bill presented for his assent if any provisions of the Bill, in respect of which it has not been previously sanctioned by the Governor-General under Section 80-A (3) of the Government of India Act, appear to him to affect any matter wherewith he is specially charged under his Instrument of Instructions, any central subject, or the interests of another province ; and he is bound to reserve for such consideration Bills affecting the religion of any class of British subjects in British India, Bills relating to the constitution and functions of Universities, Bills which have the effect of including a reserved subject within a transferred subject, Bills providing for light railways, or which affect the land revenue so as to prescribe the period of settlement, to limit the extent of enhancement of assessment or to modify materially general principles of assessment, if such prescription, limitation or modification appears to him likely seriously to affect the provincial revenues. Finally, in order that an Act may have validity, the assent of the Governor-General must be obtained ; and he, except in the case of Bills reserved for his consideration, may reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon. Power is also reserved to His Majesty in Council to disallow any Act to which the Governor-General has given his assent. No Bill affecting the provincial revenues may be introduced without the Governor's previous sanction, who has also the power to stop all further consideration of a Bill or a clause of a Bill which he certifies to affect the safety or tranquillity of any province. Further, where the Legislative Council has refused leave to introduce or has failed to pass in a form recommended by the Governor any Bill relating to a reserved subject, the Governor may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject ; it is then deemed to have been passed, and becomes valid as soon as the assent of the Crown, or, in cases of emergency, of the Governor-General, has been obtained to it. Copies of such Acts must be laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days before being presented for His Majesty's assent.

88. It must, however, be remembered that the Legislative Council has *per se* no power to legislate for Berar, legislation for which, as not being a part of British India, continues to be effected by notification issued by the Governor-General in Council under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902. So far, then, as concerns Berar, the powers of the Legislative Council are confined to its power of financial control; and any further influence which it may seek to bring to bear upon the administration of Berar can only take the form of Resolutions.

89. The composition of the Legislative Council is regulated by the Central Provinces Electoral Rules issued under Section 47 of the Government of India Act, 1919. The Council consists of— Composition of the Legislative Council.

- (1) the (2) members of the Executive Council, *ex officio*;
- (2) 37 elected members;
- (3) such number (*i.e.*, 31) of members nominated by the Governor as with the addition of the members of the Executive Council shall amount to 33; of the members so nominated—

- (a) not more than 8 may be officials,
- (b) 17 shall be persons nominated as the result of elections held in Berar, and
- (c) 5 shall be persons nominated to represent the classes specified below according to the following distribution, namely :—

- (i) 1 member for the inhabitants of the Mandla district excluding Mandla town,
- (ii) 1 member for the inhabitants of the estates specified in Part VI of the First Schedule to the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, and of the Kanteli, Chandrapur, Padampur, Malkharoda, Bhatgaon, Bilaigarh-Katgi, Parpori, Khuji, Devri Suarman, Narra and Kauria *samindaris* of the Chhattisgarh Division,
- (iii) 1 member for the European and Anglo-Indian communities, and
- (iv) 2 members for classes which, in the opinion of the Governor, are depressed classes;

provided that, until the reconstitution of the Council next following the date on which a university is established at Nagpur, the number of elected members shall be 36, and the number of persons nominated by the Governor shall be 32, of whom 1 shall be nominated to represent university education in the Central Provinces.

90. Constituencies are divided into general and special constituencies, and general constituencies in the Central Provinces into non-Muhammadan urban, non-Muhammadan rural, and Muhammadan rural. The following are non-Muhammadan urban constituencies in the Central Provinces :—

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| (1) Jubbulpore City | ... | The municipalities of Murwara, Damoh, Saugor, Seoni and Mandla and the cantonment and railway settlement of Saugor. |
| (2) Jubbulpore Division (Urban) | ... | The municipalities and railway settlements of Raipur, Dhamtari, and Bilaspur, and the municipality of Drug. |
| (3) Chhattisgarh Division (Urban) | ... | The municipalities of Hoshangabad, Harda, Khandwa, Burhanpur, Narsinghpur and Chhindwara, and the railway settlements of Harda and Chhindwara. |
| (4) Nerbudda Division (Urban) | ... | |
| (5) Nagpur City-cum-Kamptee (Two members). | ... | |
| (6) Nagpur Division (Urban) | ... | The municipalities of Umrer, Wardha, Hinganghat, Arvi, Chanda, Warora, Bhandara, and the municipalities and railway settlements of Gondia and Balaghat. |

The non-Muhammadan rural constituencies include all parts of each district not included in urban constituencies, or in Mandla district other than Mandla town, the Sironcha *tahsil* of Chanda district, and the estates specified above under the heading 3 (c) (ii) of paragraph 387, and are :—

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| (1) Jubbulpore district (North) | (12) Narsinghpur district |
| (2) Jubbulpore district (South) | (13) Chhindwara district |
| (3) Damoh district | (14) Betul district |
| (4) Saugor district | (15) Nagpur district (East) |
| (5) Seoni district | (16) Nagpur district (West) |
| (6) Raipur district (North) | (17) Wardha tahsil |
| (7) Raipur district (South) | (18) Wardha district (excluding Wardha tahsil.) |
| (8) Bilaspur district | (19) Chanda district |
| (9) Drug district | (20) Bhandara district |
| (10) Hoshangabad district | (21) Balaghat district |
| (11) Nimar district | |

The Muhammadan rural constituencies of the Central Provinces are 4 in number, and correspond in area to each of the 4 Divisions. There are five special constituencies in the Central Provinces :—

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| 1. Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Landholders, | 4. Central Provinces and Berar Mining Association, |
| 2. Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Landholders, | 5. Central Provinces Commerce and Industry. |
| 3. Nagpur University, | |

91. Electors for the 17 members nominated as the result of elections held in Berar take place under the Berar Electoral Rules. There are 15 general constituencies, composed of 2 non-Muhammadan and 1 Muhammadan urban constituencies, and 10 non-Muhammadan and 2 Muhammadan rural constituencies; and 2 special constituencies. The non-Muhammadan Urban constituencies are :—

1. East Berar Municipal, comprising the Municipalities of Amraoti City, Amraoti Camp, Ellichpur City, Ellichpur Civil Station,

2. West Berar Municipal, comprising the Municipalities of Akola Akot, Murtizapur, Karanja, Malkapur, Khamgaon and Shegaon.

The Muhammadan urban Constituency, Berar Municipal, comprises the Muhammadan electors of all the above municipalities. The non-Muhammadan rural constituencies are :—

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| (1) Amraoti Central, | (6) Akola South, |
| (2) Amraoti East, | (7) Buldana Central, |
| (3) Amraoti West, | (8) Buldana (Malkapur and Jalgaon taluqs). |
| (4) Akola East, | (9) Yeotmal East, |
| (5) Akola North-West, | (10) Yeotmal West. |

The Muhammadan rural constituencies are East Berar Rural, consisting of the Amraoti and Yeotmal districts, and West Berar Rural, consisting of the Akola and Buldana districts. The Melghat taluq of Amraoti is excluded from the area of any constituency as a backward tract. There are two special constituencies in Berar, the Berar Landholders constituency, comprising all Berar except the Melghat taluq, and the Berar Commerce and Industry constituency.

92. The rules as to the qualifications of electors and candidates, the preparation and revision of electoral rolls and the holding of elections are detailed in the Legislative Council Manual.

93. Under Section 72-B of the Government of India Act the duration of each Council is limited to three years from its first meeting, the Governor having power to dissolve it earlier, or, under special circumstances, to extend its duration by one year. The first session after a general election must begin not more than six months after a dissolution. The Governor fixes the time and place of each session, and may prorogue the Council at his will. Any meeting of the Council may be adjourned by the person presiding. All questions for decision are determined by a majority of votes of the members present, subject to the casting vote of the person presiding. The President of the Council is, for the first four years after the first meeting of the reformed Council, appointed by the Governor; after that period, however, any vacancy in the office will be filled by election by the members of the Council, the appointed President in office retaining his office till the end of the then current session, when the office will be vacant until an election is held at the beginning of the following session. The Deputy President is elected by the Council; both his election and that of a President are subject to the Governor's approval. At the beginning of each session, the President nominates from among the members of the Council a panel of not more than four Chairmen, of whom any one may preside in the absence of the

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of the
Council.

President and the Deputy President. The Secretary and his assistants are appointed by the Governor, and hold office during his pleasure. The conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the Legislative Council are regulated by Standing Orders issued under Section 72-D (6) of the Government of India Act, which, in the first instance, were made by the Governor in Council, but may, subject to the Governor's assent, be altered by the Legislative Council. The presence of a quorum of 20 members is necessary to constitute a meeting of the council for the exercise of its powers.

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES AND DEPARTMENTS.

Staff.

94. The provincial staff for the purposes of revenue and judicial administration consists of the Central Provinces Commission, the Provincial Civil Service, and the Subordinate Civil Service. There was formerly a separate Berar Commission, which was amalgamated with the Central Provinces Commission. The principal element in the Commission is the Indian Civil Service, of which the present strength, exclusive of two officers permanently transferred to other provinces, is 98; the Commission includes also 5 officers of the old Uncovenanted Civil Service, 4 officers promoted from the Provincial Service, and 1 appointed from the Bar. Its total strength is thus 108 officers, of whom 22 are Indians.

95. In accordance with Government of India (Home Department) Resolution No. 2559 of December 1st, 1920, recruitment for the Commission, that is to say for the Indian Civil Service, including appointments to posts ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service, is effected by five methods :—

- (i) Open competitive examination in London.
- (ii) Separate competitive examination in India.
- (iii) Nomination in India.
- (iv) Promotion from the Provincial Civil Service.
- (v) Appointment from the Bar.

In addition to these methods, certain nominations to the Indian Civil Service have been made of candidates who have served in the armed forces of the Crown during the war, under the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1915. All appointments to the Indian Civil Service are made by the Secretary of State in Council. Officers appointed under methods (iv) and (v) to fill posts ordinarily held by the Indian Civil Service are not admitted to that Service but are included in the Commission of the Province, and from the date of their appointment take rank with Civil Service Officers and are eligible with them on their merits for all posts on the Civil Service cadre. Candidates for the entrance examinations

age on the 1st August preceding the examination, and if selected in England or India, undergo a special two years' course of training at a university in Great Britain or Ireland, before taking up their appointments in India. Nomination is provided for in the Government of India Act to secure representation in the service of the various provinces and communities in India, when the results of the regular examination in India, which is now the main source of Indian recruitment, do not give the results desired. The competitive examination in London is open to Europeans and Indians alike. The posts held by the Indian Civil Service are divided for purposes of pay into select posts on a fixed salary without overseas pay, superior scale posts on a time scale of Rs. 1,000—50—1,200/75—1,500/100—2,000/50—2,250 with overseas pay of Rs. 150 up to the seventh year of service, Rs. 200 from the eighth to the eleventh, and Rs. 250 thereafter, and inferior scale posts, on a time-scale of pay of Rs. 450—50—800/100—1,300, 1,350 after 2 years on 1,300, and overseas pay on the same scale as for superior time-scale posts. In the following list of select and superior scale posts reserved for members of the Commission, select posts are marked with an asterisk, and the pay attached to them is placed in brackets:—

Administration.—

Official Member of Executive Council (4,000)*	...	1
Chief Secretary (3,000)*	...	1
Secretaries	..	2

Revenue.—

Commissioners (3,000)*	...	5
Deputy Commissioners	...	22
Settlement Officers	...	3

Judicial.—

Judicial Commissioner (3,500)*	...	1
Additional Judicial Commissioners (3,000)*	...	2
District and Sessions Judges, including Legal Remembrancer...		12

General.—

Political Agent, Feudatory States	...	1
Commissioner of Excise	...	1
Commissioner of Settlements	...	1
Commissioner of Income-tax	...	1
Registrar and Deputy Registrar, Co-operative Societies	...	2

Secretaries, Settlement Officers, and officers specified under the head "General," rank as Deputy Commissioners. Commissioners of Revenue draw a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 250, District and Sessions Judges, additional Judicial pay of Rs. 150, Secretaries of Revenue and Finance and the officers

specified under the head "General," additional special pay of Rs. 250. The posts on the inferior scale include :—

Administration.—

Under-Secretaries	2
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Judicial.—

Registrar, Judicial Commissioner's Court	1
Subordinate Judges	3

and in addition a number of Assistant Commissioners who work as assistants to Deputy Commissioners. Under-Secretaries draw an additional special pay of Rs. 200, and the Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court of Rs. 100—150—200. Overseas pay is paid only to members of the service of non-Indian domicile, to all Indians in the service or undergoing probation on February 13th, 1920, and to Indians selected at the five open competitive examinations in England beginning with that of 1920. The special decennial appointment (superior scale) of Provincial Census Superintendent is generally held by an officer of the Indian Civil Service. The cadre of the service is fixed so as to allow for a deputation, leave and training reserve.

96. Of these posts, a certain number known as "listed" ^{Listed appointments.} posts, are filled by promotion from the Provincial Service, and by appointment from the Bar. This number was fixed in 1915 at 3 Deputy Commissionerships and 4 District and Sessions Judgeships, of which three were to be held until their retirement by members of the old Berar Commission; two are still so held, their incumbents being included in the 5 members of the Uncovenanted Civil Service already mentioned as included in the Commission. In 1918 power was given to Local Governments and Administrations to appoint persons who are not members of the Provincial Services, up to one-fourth of the listed appointments open to members of the Provincial Service as an experimental measure intended to fill District Judgeships from the Bar. The Secretary of State has since approved of the number of superior listed posts being increased to 11; and the distribution of these posts between the judicial and executive branches of the service is still under consideration. In the meantime, the Government of India have issued rules under Section 99 of the Government of India Act specifying the conditions on which Indians of British Indian domicile and parentage and of proved merit and ability may be appointed to offices ordinarily filled by members of the Indian Civil Service. Under these rules the Local Government may, with the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State

in Council, declare a specified number of superior executive and judicial posts open to such appointments; of posts thus listed, up to 15 per cent may be filled by persons who are members neither of the Provincial Civil Service nor of the Bar, while the Provincial Service and the Bar are placed on equal terms as regards appointments to the remainder: the Local Government is also given an emergency power to appoint any person satisfying the conditions of Section 99 (i) of the Act to any office ordinarily filled by a member of the Indian Civil Service for a period not exceeding six months. For the percentage of Indians in the service, the Government of India have adopted the suggestion of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, fixing a proportion of 33 per cent rising by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent annually to 48 per cent, to cover total Indian recruitment from all sources, including promotion from the Provincial Service and appointments from the Bar.

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97. The Provincial Civil Service comprises two distinct branches, the executive and the judicial. Appointments in all provinces are confined to "statutory" natives of India or subjects of Indian States in alliance with His Majesty, but may, with special sanction in each case, be extended to Europeans who are not statutory natives of India. In the Central Provinces and Berar appointments are so far as possible confined to natives or permanent residents of the province. Appointments to the executive branch are made partly by promotion from the Subordinate Civil Service or occasional appointment from other departments and partly by appointment, on the advice of a Selection Committee, of probationers nominated by the Local Government who are not more than 25 years of age, and are graduates (or, if Europeans or Anglo-Indians, have received an education which is considered to have fitted them for the discharge of the duties of an officer of the Service) and can speak Hindi or Marathi. Excluding temporary posts, the cadre of the executive branch includes 108 posts of Extra-Assistant Commissioner, one of which is reserved for the Publicity Officer to Government; of these 105 are on a time-scale pay of Rs. 300—25—500—30—650—40—850, and three on a select grade with a time-scale of Rs. 900—100—1,100. Officers promoted from the Subordinate Service are placed in the time-scale on a pay determined by their status and pay when promoted. Appointments to the select grade of both the executive and judicial branches are made strictly by selection and not by seniority. One Under-Secretaryship and the listed posts of Deputy Commissioners are open to members of the executive branch. The judicial branch as now constituted contains, in addition to Subordinate Judges, Munsiffs, who were formerly non-gazetted officers of the

Subordinate Judicial Service. Candidates for the Judicial Service are appointed on the recommendation of the Judicial Commissioner, who is assisted by a Selection Committee, and must be either barristers-at-law or graduates in law of a British Indian university, able to speak Marathi or Hindi, below 25 years of age, or, if barristers, advocates, or pleaders, 30 years of age, during three of which they must have practised their profession in India. The time-scale of pay is Rs. 300—25—350—30—650—40—850, with 4 select grade posts on Rs. 900—100—1,200. The maximum pay which a Munsiff can draw is Rs 650. There are 49 Sub-Judgeships and 72 posts of Munsiffs; one post on the cadre of Sub-Judges is reserved for the Deputy Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court, and one for the Assistant Legal Remembrancer. Members of this branch are eligible for the listed judicial appointments.

98. The Subordinate Civil Service, which is now executive ^{The Subordinate Civil Service.} only, is recruited so far as practicable from natives of the Central Provinces and Berar. It consists of 118 posts of Naib-Tahsildar on a time-scale pay of Rs. 100—10—150 and 114 posts of Tahsildar, of which 4 are on a select grade scale of Rs. 300—10—350, and the remainder on an ordinary time-scale pay of Rs. 175—²⁵—275. Naib-Tahsildars while on probation draw Rs. 80 only per mensem.

The Secretariat.

99. The present distribution of portfolios among the members of the Local Government is as follows :—The two members of the Executive Council hold respectively the portfolios of Finance, Land Revenue Administration, Famine Relief, Mines, Forests and Irrigation, and those of Criminal and Civil Justice, Police, Jails and Commerce; one Minister is in charge of Co-operative Credit, the development of Industries, the Veterinary, Excise, Agriculture, Stamps and Registration Departments, and the other in charge of Local Self-Government, the construction and maintenance of Roads and Buildings, Medical Administration, Public Health and Education. The Governor retains the Political and Military portfolios, and supervises appointments to the All-India Services and postings of their officers. The Chief Secretary, who is assisted by an Under-Secretary and a Registrar, deals with correspondence relating to the Judicial, Jails, Police, Appointments, Political, Military, Ecclesiastical, and General Administration Departments, and with confidential correspondence. The Financial Secretary deals with correspondence relating to the Finance, Local Self-Government, Medical, Public Health, Excise, Registration and

Stamps Departments, assisted by a Financial Assistant Secretary, and an Under-Secretary for departments other than Finance. The Revenue Secretary deals with correspondence regarding the Land Revenue, Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, Forests, Co-operative Credit and Veterinary Departments, assisted by an Under-Secretary. The Chief Engineers of each branch of the Public Works Department, each assisted by an Under-Secretary, the Director of Public Instruction, and, from January 1st, 1923, the Commissioner of Settlements, act as Secretaries for the various departments of which they are the Heads.

Administration of the land (Reserved).

100. The British territory of the Central Provinces is divided into four divisions, each in charge of a Commissioner, and 18 districts each in charge of a Deputy Commissioner; the districts are sub-divided into 61 *tahsils* each in charge of a tahsildar. Berar constitutes a fifth division, with 4 districts and 22 *taluqs* or *tahsils*. The Deputy Commissioner is also the District Magistrate; and in order to leave him as far as possible free to attend to important matters of general interest in his charge, Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioners are placed in charge of one or more *tahsils*, over which in criminal matters they exercise the legal powers of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate and in revenue matters the powers of a Sub-Divisional Officer, which, with certain exceptions, comprise most of the Deputy Commissioner's revenue powers. The system not only relieves the Deputy Commissioner of much unnecessary work, but it provides also a useful training ground for officers who are subsequently expected to hold independent charges. The lowest Revenue Courts are those of Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars; the latter, when their appointments are confirmed, acquire automatically the revenue powers of Tahsildars, which include the passing of final orders in many cases, and reporting on other cases for the final orders of Sub-Divisional Officers or Deputy Commissioners: Naib-Tahsildars before confirmation report on cases on which the Tahsildar passes orders or makes a reference to a higher court. Appeals from Tahsil and Sub-Divisional Courts lie to the Deputy Commissioner, and from him to the Commissioner; the final court of revenue appeal is the Court of the Revenue Member of the Executive Council, which performs the work of the old Court of the Financial Commissioner. Each tahsil is divided for purposes of land records into *patwari's* circles, which comprise each several villages, and are grouped into 3 or 4 Revenue Inspector's circles per tahsil. Revenue Inspectors are supervised by Assistant Superintendents of Land Records under a District Superintendent of Land Records, who is generally a Tahsildar seconded for duty in the Land Records

Department. The district land record staff during the currency of a settlement is subject to the control of the Deputy Commissioner and his Sub-Divisional Officers, who have disciplinary powers; certain punishments require confirmation by the head of the Land Records Department, the Director of Land Records, who is also Commissioner of Settlements: when a district is under settlement, the land records staff is transferred to the control of the Settlement Officer. The Commissioner of the Division is the Court of Wards; Deputy Commissioners are subject to the Court, which exercises its powers locally through them. The Court takes charge of the affairs of owners of large estates who are incapacitated by age, sex, or other disabilities from managing their own property.

Administration of Justice (Reserved).

Central Provinces Courts Act (Central Provinces Act No. 1 of 1917).

101. The High Court at Bombay exercises original and appellate criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in Berar and the Nagpur and Nerbudda Divisions, and the High Court at Allahabad over such subjects in the Jubbulpore and Chhattisgarh Divisions. With this exception the Court of the Judicial Commissioner at Nagpur is the highest Civil and Criminal Court in the Central Provinces and Berar. At present the Judges of the Court consist of the Judicial Commissioner and three Additional Judicial Commissioners. The Judges must be members of the Indian Civil Service who have exercised the powers of a District and Sessions Judge or like powers, or barristers, pleaders, or *wakils* of ten years' standing. One of the Judgeships is reserved for a member of the Bar, and the remainder for members of the Indian Civil Service. For the administration of justice there are 11 civil districts with head-quarters at Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, Raipur, Chhindwara, Jubbulpore, Khandwa, Saugor, Hoshangabad, Amraoti and Akola; at the head-quarters of each civil district there is a District and Sessions Judge, who is District Judge for civil cases and Sessions Judge for criminal cases; in civil districts where work is heavy there is generally a subordinate judge appointed to act as Additional District and Sessions Judge; and in almost every civil district there are one or more Additional District Judges, who, if not also Additional Sessions Judges, often exercise first or second class magisterial powers. These additional judges sit at the head-quarters either of the civil district or of administrative districts comprised within the civil district for judicial purposes. Original criminal work, excepting cases committed to the Court of Sessions, is in the hands of magistrates, who are for the most part the executive officers of the administrative districts, but include a few subordinate judges and munsiffs.

Magistrates are of three classes, first, second and third, according to the powers of punishment and jurisdiction possessed by them. The Deputy Commissioner is *ex officio* District Magistrate of the district and is responsible for the superintendence of all other magisterial courts in his district; certain powers of superintendence are also vested in Sub-divisional Magistrates, who are usually the revenue sub-divisional officers, over the courts of second and third class magistrates in their sub-divisions. Tahsildars are usually second class magistrates: both they and substantive Naib-Tahsildars are third class magistrates in virtue of their office, but are invested with higher powers when qualified by experience. Benches of Honorary Magistrates have been formed in important towns or villages usually with third class, but in some cases with second or even first class powers; prominent local gentlemen are appointed to them, usually for successive periods of five years. A few experienced Honorary Magistrates are sometimes appointed to exercise powers sitting singly as first, second, or third class magistrates. About a quarter of the total number of cases are disposed of by Honorary Magistrates. Every District Magistrate has *ex officio* power under Section 30 of the Code of Criminal Procedure to try as a Magistrate all offences not punishable with death; this power is also conferred upon selected first class magistrates from time to time. In the more important districts the usual practice is to have one head-quarter magistrate thus empowered who tries all cases which call for a sentence higher than an ordinary first class magistrate has power to inflict. The general rule is that no case may be committed to the Court of Sessions which can be adequately dealt with by a Magistrate; all cases therefore which call for more than two years' imprisonment and ordinarily are triable by the Court of Sessions are tried either by the specially empowered Magistrate, or by the District Magistrate. District Magistrates, certain Sub-Divisional Magistrates and first class Magistrates have powers to dispose of appeals of second and third class Magistrates; but all other appellate and revisional work is disposed of by the Courts of Session and of the Judicial Commissioner. For the administration of civil justice there are in addition to the 11 District Judges 53 Subordinate Judges (in whose number are included the Additional District Judges, the Judges of the Small Cause Courts at Nagpur, Kampti, Jubbulpore, Khandwa, Akola and Amraoti, and the Registrar and Deputy Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court), and 72 Munsiffs: there are also a few temporary Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs. In addition, Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars exercise the powers of additional Munsiffs, and certain Extra-Assistant Commissioners exercise the powers of Subordinate Judges, to give effect to the provision in the Central

Provinces Tenancy Act of 1920, Section 106, that a judge of a Civil Court of original jurisdiction shall not, unless he is also a Revenue Officer, hear any suit for an arrear of rent, other than an arrear due by a sub-tenant. Without the sanction of the revenue authorities no property in land in the Central Provinces can be sold in execution of a civil court's decree, "not being a decree directing the sale of immoveable property in execution of a contract specially affecting the same," and all decrees ordering sale of any interest in land except in municipal towns are transferred to the Court of the Deputy Commissioner for execution. With these exceptions, the administration of civil justice is entirely in the hands of purely judicial officers. Appeals from a Munsiff's decision lie to the District Court, from that of a Subordinate Judge to the District Court in cases where the value of the suit or original proceeding does not exceed Rs 5,000, and otherwise to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, to which lie appeals from decisions of a District Court.

Registration (Transferred) (*India Act XVI of 1908*).

102. Offices for the registration of documents have been established at convenient centres throughout the province, revenue districts for this purpose being divided into sub-districts. Each sub-district, which except in a populous region generally corresponds in area with a *tahsil*, is in charge of a Sub-Registrar. There are 119 Sub-Registrars, on a scale of pay which ranges from Rs. 60 to Rs. 175, while there are ten *ex-officio* registering officers. The districts are presided over by District Registrars, who are executive officers appointed by the Deputy Commissioner to perform this work, for which they receive no special remuneration, in addition to their ordinary revenue and magisterial duties. There are three Inspectors of Registration offices. The head of the Department is the Inspector-General of Registration, who is at present the Commissioner of Settlements.

Law Department (Reserved).

103. The Law Officers of the Local Government are the Legal Remembrancer, who is also Secretary to the Local Government in the Legal Department and Secretary to the Legislative Council, the Assistant Legal Remembrancer, the Government Advocate, who is also *ex-officio* Standing Counsel, and the Public Prosecutors. The Legal Remembrancer is the Chief Law Officer of the Local Government: it is his duty to give opinions on statutory rules and orders proposed to be issued, to give advice on the construction of statutes or regulations, and, in general, to superintend and advise on the conduct of all litigation, civil or criminal, to or in which Government is a party or is in any way

interested. He is Public Prosecutor under Section 492, Criminal Procedure Code, for the Central Provinces and Berar, except in cases before the Judicial Commissioner's Court. The Government Advocate, who is appointed by the Local Government for five years, is the Executive Officer of the Law Department for conducting Government case-work in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner and civil cases in all courts subordinate thereto sitting at Nagpur, and discharges his duties under the control of the Legal Remembrancer. As remuneration he receives a fixed retaining fee of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, and fees on a fixed scale for every day on which he is engaged on a case. Public Prosecutors under the Law Department are legal practitioners appointed by Government under Section 492 of the Criminal Procedure Code for each district or group of districts; their principal duties are to conduct prosecutions before the Court of Sessions and all civil cases to which the Government or the Court of Wards is a party; for magisterial courts the police provide the ordinary prosecuting agency. Public Prosecutors are paid a retaining fee fixed at the time of their appointment, and case fees on a fixed scale.

Police (Reserved).

104. The head of the Police Department is the Inspector-General of Police. This post is included in the cadre of the Imperial Police Service, but is filled by the appointment of the best officer available, whether in the Indian Civil Service or in the Imperial Police Service, due regard being paid to the claims of the senior police officers in the province. The province is divided into two ranges, each of which is under a Deputy Inspector-General; a third Deputy Inspector-General is in charge of the Railway Police, the Criminal Investigation Department, and the Special Branch: he is assisted by two officers of the rank of Superintendent of Police. At the head-quarters of each district there is a Superintendent of Police, and subordinate to him Assistant Superintendents or Deputy Superintendents, each generally in charge of a group of circles. All these posts, except those of Deputy Superintendents, are filled by officers of the Imperial Service. Deputy Superintendents are officers of the Provincial Service, which is recruited from statutory natives of India partly by promotion of Inspectors and partly by direct appointment. Eleven per cent, however, of the superior police appointments are "listed posts," and are filled by the appointment of officers of the Provincial Service, who, when confirmed in such posts, are promoted to the Imperial Service. Subordinate to Deputy Superintendents are Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, who are recruited principally by direct appointment, though a few head constables are promoted

to Sub-Inspector: this staff is divided into investigating and prosecuting Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. Below them are the rank and file of constables and head constables. There is a Police Training School at Saugor for the training of probationary Deputy Superintendents and Sub-Inspectors. For purposes of police investigation, each district is divided into circles, in charge of an Inspector, and each circle into station-house areas, in charge of the senior Sub-Inspector posted to them. Village crime is reported at station-houses by village watchmen, known as *hotwars* in the Central Provinces, and as *jaglias* in Berar, and, if of sufficient importance, investigated by the station-house staff under the supervision of the Circle Inspector. In each district there is a prosecuting Inspector, who conducts prosecutions in magisterial courts assisted, in the heavier districts, by a prosecuting Sub-Inspector. The District Magistrate exercises a general control over the activities of the police of his district, but has no power to inflict departmental punishments or to interfere directly in the internal administration of the force. Under the third Deputy Inspector-General are the special police organisations, the Special Branch, which deals with political crime; the Criminal Investigation Department, which is responsible for the detection of professional crime and criminal organisations of more than local importance, the maintenance of the Finger Print Bureau, and the diffusion of intelligence as to the movements and methods of criminals; and the Government Railway Police, which is maintained for the prevention and detection of crime on railways. The railways of the province are for this purpose divided into two charges, each under a Superintendents.

Jails (Reserved).

105. The Inspector-General of Prisons, who is an officer of the Indian Medical Service, controls the Jail Department. There are two central, ten district and nine subsidiary jails in the province. Central Jails receive all prisoners sentenced to imprisonment for one year and upwards, and prisoners sentenced to death or transportation. The district jails, with the exception of the Amraoti and Narsinghpur jails, are intended only for the reception of casual prisoners sentenced to less than one year's imprisonment: the Amraoti district jail receives all Berar prisoners who are classed as habituals. The Narsinghpur jail is used solely for the reception of purely casual adolescent convicts; these boys are taught a trade, or up-to-date methods of agriculture, and are given a general elementary education; specially selected prisoners of good behaviour are, on the recommendation of the Superintendent, licensed or apprenticed to employers of labour on the employer undertaking to be responsible for their safe

custody. In all jails remissions of sentences are granted for good conduct: a convict may ordinarily earn three days remission a month, for good behaviour, and additional remissions can be earned by convict night watchmen, overseers, and warders, who are prisoners selected for these posts for exceptionally good conduct. There is a Reformatory School at Jubbulpore under the control of the Director of Industries. The Superintendents of Central Jails are whole-time medical officers of the Indian Medical Service, while the Superintendents of district and subsidiary jails are the Civil Surgeons of the district where they are located. Many reforms recently recommended by the Indian Jails Committee will be gradually introduced according as the present financial difficulties abate; meanwhile certain reforms which involve little or no increase in expenditure have been introduced, such as the confinement of casuals and habituals in separate jails, the abolition of transportation and the formation of a "special division" for certain classes of prisoners.

Forests (Reserved).

106. The head of the Forest Department is the Chief Conservator, whose head-quarters are at Pachmarhi. The province is divided into three Circles, each under a Conservator, with head-quarters at Nagpur, Jubbulpore and Amraoti, respectively. Each Circle is divided into Divisions, of which South Mandla, Chhindwara, Hoshangabad, Seoni, Saugor, Nagpur-Wardha, North Chanda, South Chanda, South Raipur, Balaghat, Melghat, Yeotmal, Retul and Nimar are designated major charges, and Damoh, Jubbulpore, Narsinghpur, North Mandla, Bhandara, Bilaspur, North Raipur, Amraoti, Akola and Buldana minor charges. Divisional Forest Officers are either Deputy or Assistant Conservators of the Imperial Service, Extra-Deputy or Extra-Assistant Conservators of the Provincial Service. Divisions are sub-divided into Ranges, in charge of a Ranger belonging to the Subordinate Service, which also includes Deputy Rangers, Foresters, and Forest Guards. Officers of the Provincial Service undergo training at the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun, before appointment. Rangers and Deputy Rangers are recruited either from subordinates, or from candidates who have undergone training at the Madras Forest College at Coimbatore, or in some cases at the Provincial School at Balaghat.

Indian
Forest
Act, VII of
1878.

107. The Local Government may declare any forest land or waste-land at its disposal to be reserved forest after due enquiry into and determination of the rights of any private persons in such land; this investigation is conducted by an officer known as the

Forest Settlement Officer. Pending the completion of the enquiry no fresh private rights can accrue in the land. Grazing, cultivation, tree-felling, removal of forest produce, quarrying, shooting, etc., in reserved forests are prohibited by law except under permits for which fees are usually charged; special privileges are however granted to aboriginal forest tribes, and in times of famine free grazing is permitted. Conservation and exploitation are also carried out, but in a less degree, in the unclassed State forests and wastes. The Deputy Commissioner has control of all Government forests in his district, and the Divisional Forest Officer as his assistant is responsible immediately to him for the proper management of all the district forests: the former's interference is in practice limited to a criticism of the Forest Department's proposals with regard to the effect that they are likely to have upon the supply of forest produce to the public and to seeing that Government is everywhere getting adequate returns from its forest estates.

Local and Municipal Administration (Transferred).

108. For each revenue district in the Central Provinces there is a District Council, and for each revenue district in Berar a District Board. District Boards are constituted under the Berar Rural Boards Law of 1885. The existing District Councils in the Central Provinces were constituted under Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act of 1883. In 1920 the old provincial Legislative Council passed the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act of 1920, under which the ensuing District Council elections will be held: the issue of rules under the Act has now been completed, and the Act has since the close of 1922 been applied to Berar. It aims at giving practical effect to the principles laid down by the Government of India for the development of local self-government, and provides for the lowering of the proportion of nominated to elected members, abandons the principle of communal representation, and substantially relaxes the powers previously vested in Government to supersede a local body for incompetence. Each district is divided into groups of circles, and for each group a Local Board is established, subject to the authority of the District Council. A Local Board consists of representatives, one or more in number elected for each circle, together with other persons, not being Government officials or exceeding in number one-fourth of the Local Board, appointed by the Commissioner; and may be declared by the Local Government to be an independent Local Board, in which case it exercises within its own area, so far as may be, the functions of a District Council. The qualifications of voters in each circle are based on the holding in such circle of

(a) District Councils.
Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act. (C. P. Act No. IV of 1920).

the position of a *malguzar* or *lambardar*, or of land assessed to a land revenue varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 25, or, in the case of *malik-makbuzas*, from Rs. 25 to Rs. 10, or on which an annual rent varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 10 is paid, or on possession of an annual non-agricultural income of not less than Rs. 250 derived from sources within the circle, or on the payment of the special school rate by reason of the occupation of houses, buildings or lands in the circle; each kind of qualification is subject to a minimum sum varying according to the circumstances of different parts of the province. A candidate for election as a representative of a circle must, except under very special circumstances, be resident within the circle, and possess the qualifications of a voter in any circle within the group. The total number of members of each District Council is fixed by rules under the Act; of this number two-thirds must consist of persons elected by the Local Boards under the Council's control from amongst their own members, one-sixth of persons selected by the members thus elected from amongst persons resident in the district and possessing the qualifications of a voter in any circle in the district, and one-sixth of persons, other than Government officials, appointed by the Commissioner. Certain qualifications, of a nature similar to those prescribed for members of the Legislative Council, are prescribed for all members of a District Council or Local Board: but no official may be a member, unless elected Chairman or Vice-Chairman under the circumstances described below. The District Council and the Local Board elect a Chairman and Vice-Chairman from among their own body, or from other persons who reside in the district or group, as the case may be, and are not disqualified to become members: either the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman may be a Government official, if his election is made at a special meeting convened solely for the purpose of selecting him and no other person, supported by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at the meeting, and sanctioned by the Local Government. If no Chairman or Vice-Chairman is appointed by the District Council or Local Body within a reasonable time, the Local Government may appoint them. Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, and other members receive no remuneration, but may be paid travelling allowance for attending Council or Board meetings and for travelling on tours of inspection. The main source of income of District Councils in the Central Provinces is a cess levied on proprietors of land or Government *raiyats* at the rate of 6½ per cent on the land revenue or *kamil-jama* assessed on their land, and in Berar a similar cess of 18 pies in the rupee on the assessment of each survey-number. District Councils may also, with the Local Government's sanction and by a two-thirds majority, impose in the Central Provinces an additional

cess at a rate not exceeding $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the land revenue or *kamil-jama* assessed on any estate or mahal, excluding *malik-makbuz* plots, or, in Berar, at a rate not exceeding 12 pies in the rupee on the assessment of each survey-number and a special school rate on occupants of houses, buildings, or lands within any village or group of villages which benefits from any schools maintained by the Council within it; the rate is to be imposed according to the means of the rate-payer within the village or group of villages, and to be applied to the maintenance of a school or schools therein. Councils may also impose certain other fees, tolls, taxes and rates within limits. All sums due to Councils may be remitted or suspended in any area where owing to famine, epidemic, or widespread calamity the land-revenue demand has been suspended or remitted. Arrears are recoverable as arrears of land revenue. District Councils are empowered to pass their own budgets unless they are indebted to Government, in which case the Local Government's sanction is necessary. The ordinary duties of the District Council are the construction and maintenance of roads, avenues, hospitals, markets, water-works, wells, the management of fairs, the supervision of sanitation and vaccination, the diffusion of education, the establishment and maintenance of relief works in time of famine or scarcity and other measures of local utility which are calculated to promote the health, comfort or convenience of the public. If a District Council proves incompetent or is persistently in default in the conduct of its duties, it may be dissolved by the Local Government. A new Council is then elected; if this too proves unsatisfactory, the Local Government may supersede it altogether for a period specified in each case. The Deputy Commissioner's power of control is restricted to the examination of proceedings, the inspection of immovable property or works in progress, the inspection of documents and the right to require the submission of statements, accounts and reports. He has also power to suspend the execution of a resolution or order of a District Council, Local Board, or board or committee of a District Council or Local Board, or to prohibit the performance thereof within his district, if the order or resolution is likely to cause annoyance or injury to the public or to any class or body of persons, or to lead to a breach of the peace. His action must at once be reported for confirmation to the Commissioner, against whose decision an appeal lies to the Local Government.

109. In important villages or groups of adjacent villages which are not municipalities or cantonments, village *panchayats* under the Central Provinces Village Sanitation and Public Management Act, 1920, or the Central Provinces Village Panchayat Act,

(b) Village Panchayats.

1920, may be constituted. A *panchayat* under the former Act consists of five or more members, while that under the latter Act consists of not less than nine and not more than fifteen members. All members of each kind of *panchayat* are elected, excepting the *mukaddams* of the villages, who are *ex-officio* members. A *panchayat* under the former Act supervises the village sanitation only, while one under the latter Act, besides supervising sanitation, is empowered to dispose of petty civil and criminal cases. The main source of income of these *panchayats* is the house-tax. The Village Sanitation and Public Management Act operates only in areas notified by the Local Government; a few *panchayats* under it or the Act of 1902, which it repealed, have been constituted in most districts. It has also been applied to Berar. The Village Panchayat Act extends to the whole of the Central Provinces, and has since the close of 1922 been applied to Berar. Rules under it have yet to be framed, before it can be put into force.

(c) Municipalities.
Central Provinces Municipalities Act, 1922 (C. P. Act II of 1922), Berar Municipal Law, 1886.

110. The duties devolving on District Councils and Boards are discharged in large towns by independent local bodies styled Municipal Committees, and in certain notified towns or areas, which are too small to be constituted municipalities, by Notified Area Committees. The existing Committees in the Central Provinces were constituted under the Central Provinces Municipal Act of 1903, and in Berar under the Berar Municipal Law of 1886. The next elections in the Central Provinces will be held under the Central Provinces Municipalities Act of 1922, the application of which to Berar is contemplated. The system here described is therefore that established by the new Act, which aims at enlarging the responsibilities and representative character of Municipal Committees by considerably increasing the proportion of elected members, by empowering Committees to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents, by giving them wider powers to impose taxation without reference to the Local Government, by empowering them to recover arrears of certain taxes without reference to magistrates, by giving them extensive control over their budgets and their staff, and above all by reducing to the lowest possible extent official or external control. Each Committee consists of such number of members, not being less than five, as may be fixed by rules under the Act; and must include (a) elected members, and (b) selected members in number not exceeding one-fifth of the total number of members, selected by the elected and nominated members of the new Committee from all the members of the retiring Committee, and may include (c) members, in number not exceeding one-fifth of the total number of members, nominated

by the Local Government either by name or in virtue of their office. For purposes of election municipalities are divided into wards and special constituencies. The qualifications for ward voters are residence within the municipality and possession of an annual income of not less than Rs. 120, or assessment to municipal taxes of an annual amount not less than Rs. 2, or possession within the municipality of house property of an annual letting value of not less than Rs. 60; these minima may be reduced by rules made under the Act. For voters in special constituencies the qualifications are residence within the municipality and either assessment to municipal taxes of a kind and amount to be prescribed by rules under the Act or possession of educational qualifications of a standard to be similarly prescribed. The qualifications of all members are similar to those laid down in the case of District Councils: the only officials, however, specifically disqualified, except for special election as Presidents or Vice-Presidents, are stipendiary magistrates and police officers. These may, however, be elected as Presidents or Vice-Presidents in the same manner as officials may be elected Chairmen or Vice-Chairmen of District Councils. The Committee usually elects from its own members, or from other persons resident in the municipality and eligible for membership, a President and one or two Vice-Presidents. Each Committee holds office for a term not exceeding three years fixed under the Act by the Local Government. The Local Government may dissolve or supersede a Committee under the same conditions as apply in the case of District Councils. The Deputy Commissioner's powers of control and of passing emergency orders are similar to his powers over District Councils, but in the case of Municipal Committees are reported to the Local Government for sanction, and not to the Commissioner. The Commissioner may exercise any of the Deputy Commissioner's general powers of control. The possible sources of municipal income are taxes on owners or occupiers of buildings or lands, on the exercise of any profession or art, on vehicles, animals used for riding, driving, draught or burden, and dogs, tolls on such vehicles and animals entering the municipality and on boats moored within it, octroi or terminal tax, market dues, cattle sale registration fees, conservancy taxes, latrine taxes, water and lighting rates, and drainage taxes; all these taxes when first imposed require the Local Government's sanction. A Committee may also impose certain pilgrim taxes with the consent of the Governor-General in Council. All Municipal Committees are bound to make reasonable provision for public lighting and sanitation, the extinction of fires, the regulation of dangerous trades, the removal of obstructions, securing or removing dangerous buildings or places, the disposal of the dead, constructing, altering

and maintaining public streets, culverts, municipal boundary marks, markets, slaughter-houses, latrines, and sewers, providing public facilities for drinking water and an adequate supply of water for the inhabitants and their domestic cattle, registering births and deaths, public vaccination, primary education, taking such measures as may be required against infectious disease, and publishing prescribed annual reports on their administration. The Act specifies certain other matters with which any Committee has discretionary powers of dealing. No local area may be made a notified area under the Act if it contains more than 10,000 inhabitants, or includes merely an agricultural village or villages and does not contain a town or bazar. The Local Government may impose in a notified area any tax which might be imposed by the Municipal Committee if the notified area were a municipality, may apply or adapt to the notified area any provisions of the Act or rules in force with regard to the assessment and recovery of taxes imposed under the Act, and may arrange for the due expenditure of money raised by such taxation and for the keeping of accounts. For these purposes it may appoint a Committee of elected and nominated members, but with an elected majority, with power to elect its own President. A notified area may be converted by the Local Government into a Municipality.

Excise.

(Central Provinces Excise Act, C. P. Act II of 1915.)

111. The Head of the Excise Department is the Excise Commissioner, under whose supervision and advice Deputy Commissioners conduct the local excise administration of their districts. The Excise Commissioner is aided by a Distillery Expert and a Superintendent of Excise Crime. In each district there is a District Excise Officer who is the Deputy Commissioner's assistant in excise matters; the district is divided into circles with a Sub-Inspector in charge and one or two peons to aid him. There are besides establishments at distilleries and warehouses.

Foreign
liquor.

112. The expression "foreign liquor" in the Central Provinces includes not only liquor imported by sea but also spirit made in India and treated so as to resemble imported spirit, country brewed beer, imported in condensed form and afterwards converted into potable beer, and tonic wines and similar preparations which contain 20 per cent and upwards of proof spirit. There are ten kinds of licenses under which imported liquor may be sold in the Central Provinces, *vis.*, an "off" license, a public house license, a hotel or refreshment room license, a dāk bungalow license, or occasional license, a chemist's and druggist's license for the sale of rectified spirits, a similar license for the sale of tonic wines, a

canteen tenant's license, a special license and a license for the whole vend. The scale of fees for the "off" license and public house license for different localities ranges from Rs. 75 to Rs. 400 and Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,800 per annum, respectively. Hotel and refreshment room licenses are granted on a maximum fixed fee of Rs. 250 per annum, while chemists' and druggists' licenses and canteen tenant's licenses are granted on fixed fees of Rs. 15 and 24 per annum, respectively. The license fee for a whole-time license is Rs. 100 per annum. European liquors pay a considerable customs duty at the sea ports, and no attempt is made to subject them to further heavy taxation in the Central Provinces and Berar. The chief concern of the Government with regard to them is to ensure that their sale is only entrusted to proper persons and not unduly pushed. The only foreign liquor of Indian manufacture that is imported is rum from the Rosa distillery at Shahjanpur in the United Provinces. It is subject to duty at the tariff rate, which is prepaid at Shahjanpur. Private persons are allowed to import foreign liquor without restriction for private consumption.

113. The revenue derived from country spirit is levied partly by means of the contract supply system and partly by the outstill system. Under the contract supply system the distillers' monopoly is limited to the manufacture of liquor and its sale to licensed vendors at fixed strengths and prices, the retail vendor paying the duty. Distillers obtain their contracts by tender or by selection, and are required to supply liquor at a uniform price at local bonded warehouses in their contract areas, and to maintain adequate supplies. Contracts may be given either within or without the province, and may extend to plain spirit manufactured from molasses by European processes as well as to *mahua* spirit. The spirit is taken to bonded warehouses mostly at high strengths, and is there reduced, and issued to the retail vendors at strengths of 35°, 45° and 60° under proof. The right of retail vend in sanctioned individual shops is disposed of by annual auction held by the Deputy Commissioner. Licensees have to obtain their supplies from bonded warehouses; they pay the full price of their liquor, i.e., duty plus contractor's charge, into the Government treasuries, and have thus no direct money dealings with the distillers.

114. The operation of the outstill system under which the whole revenue is derived from license fees, and no attempt is made at direct taxation on consumption, is confined to remote and sparsely populated jungle tracts. Suitable and necessary sites for shops having been settled, the shops are grouped in circles, and for

each circle one outstill is allowed. The right of working the still and of selling its outturn in the shops of the circle is auctioned every year by the Deputy Commissioner, the capacity of the still and the hours of its working being restricted. Outstills, which are erected and maintained at the contractor's expense, are under no regular supervision, but are periodically inspected by Excise and Revenue officers. The necessity for realising enough money to pay the license fees tends to prevent the monopolist of a circle from selling liquor at excessively cheap prices. Removal of spirit from one outstill to another is generally prohibited.

Distilleries. 115. There are six distilleries, of which four are located in Government buildings and two in private premises: for Government buildings the contractors pay monthly rent. Distilleries are in charge of inspectors who are immediately subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner of the district. Contractors provide their own plant and apparatus for distillation.

Tari. 116. Liquor made by simple fermentation from the sap of palm trees is subject to taxation. The right to manufacture and sell *tari* is sold by auction: the purchasers of the monopoly make their own arrangements with the owners of *tari* trees, and are permitted to tap trees on Government waste lands. The tax per tree is now Rs. 2 in the Central Provinces and Rs. 3 in Berar. On receipt of an application for a license for tapping, the Excise Sub-Inspector of the circle marks the trees selected by the contractor, and then prepares and makes over the license to the applicant.

Shops. 117. It is laid down that such sites for the sale of liquor should be avoided as would be likely unnecessarily to obtrude the vend of spirits upon the notice of passers-by, and thus unduly stimulate the demand. Existing arrangements as to shops in one year are taken as the basis for the next year. The rules provide for changes at any time to meet any legitimate objections urged by the inhabitants of any town or village; but such objections are in normal years few. In the towns of Nagpur and Jubbulpore advisory committees, consisting of the Deputy Commissioner or a senior Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioner appointed by him, the District Superintendent of Police and four members elected by the municipality, are appointed to fix the number and locality of all excise shops, and to deal with all applications for new shops. In every other municipality the Municipal Committee, and in every cantonment the Cantonment Committee is constituted the advisory committee.

Opium. 118. Cultivation of the poppy is not permitted in the Central Provinces and Berar. A mixture containing three parts of Malwa

to one of Benares opium is supplied to the treasuries and excise warehouses. It is issued to licensed vendors at Rs. 63 a seer of the issue price; Rs. 23 is credited to "opium" revenue as the cost of production, and the remaining Rs. 40 represents the excise duty. Retail shops are allowed in specified localities, and the right of selling in each shop is disposed of annually by auction; druggists may also be licensed by the Deputy Commissioner to retail opium and its preparations, and poppy heads, for medicinal purposes only. Possession is, in the case of a private person, limited to two tolas of opium, one of intoxicating drugs other than smoking preparations prepared therefrom, such quantity of morphia as may have been prescribed for his use by an approved medical practitioner, five seers of poppy heads, and half a tola of smoking preparations, which must, however, have been prepared by him for his own use; and, in the case of licensed druggists, to one seer of opium or intoxicating drugs (other than smoking preparations) prepared therefrom, such quantity of morphia as has been specified in his license, and 10 seers of poppy heads. Except in the case of through consignments of pure opium from other provinces, import is only allowed on behalf of Government and by private persons for their personal use up to the limit prescribed for private possession. Import of preparations of opium (other than those used for smoking) in excess of that limit is allowed only in the case of licensed druggists and approved practitioners under a permit obtained from the Excise Commissioner for each consignment.

119. The cultivation of the hemp plant for the production of *Bhang*, *Ganja*, *Charas*, *ganja* is restricted to the Khandwa tahsil of the Nimar district and is there carried on under license, the cultivators being bound to harvest their crops under Government supervision and to store the produce in the Government storehouse whence it is issued to local bonded warehouses for consumption in the British districts of the province. All issues are made under the supervision of a responsible Government officer of the rank of a District Excise Officer. *Ganja* is stored in Government warehouses, of which there is one at the headquarters of each tahsil. On removal for issue, retail vendors pay duty on the quantity removed, at a rate at present fixed @ Rs. 25 per seer. The right of sale at each retail shop is disposed of by annual auction. *Bhang* is imported from Hoshiarpur in the Punjab and is stored in the Government godown at Khandwa, whence it is supplied to warehouses for issue to retail vendors at fixed prices: the duty is Rs. 5 per seer. *Charas* is purchased by Government from outside the province, and is stored at and issued from bonded warehouses under the same conditions as *ganja*. It is liable to a duty of Rs. 60 per seer.

Stamps (Transferred).

120. The Excise Commissioner is also in charge of the Department of Stamps, as Superintendent of Stamps.

Public Instruction (Transferred).

Schools for
General and
Special
Education.

121. Schools are for—

- (i) general education.
- (ii) special education.

By special education is meant instruction in a special branch of technical or professional education, or instruction of special classes, such as Europeans, girls, or Rajkumars. The education of boys of the depressed classes in this province does not come under the head of special education, as such boys are taught along with all other boys and follow the same curriculum as them, receiving special treatment only in the matter of fees, scholarships and rewards.

Primary
Schools.

122. The main division of schools for general education is into primary and secondary schools. All primary schools for general education are vernacular schools, that is to say, teaching in them is conducted wholly in the vernacular. All primary schools now follow the same curriculum, and have five classes, each representing a year's course of study, of which the first and lowest is the infant class. It is proposed in future to have only four primary classes.

Secondary
Schools.

123. Secondary schools are divided into vernacular middle schools, Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and high schools. It has now been decided to do away as early as possible with the distinction between the two former, which was based on the fact that in Anglo-vernacular schools instruction was conducted both in English and in the vernacular, while in vernacular schools the latter was the sole medium of instruction; this distinction is losing value with the gradual carrying into effect of the decision of the Curricula Committee, to which the Local Government has agreed, to make the vernacular the sole medium of instruction in all schools except in the case of English, which is to be an optional subject. The vernacular has this year been substituted for English as the medium of instruction in all classes in Anglo-vernacular schools and in the lowest classes in high schools. Meanwhile, as before, vernacular middle schools contain two classes, the 6th and 7th, in continuation of the course in primary schools, while Anglo-vernacular middle schools have in addition an 8th and a 9th class; high schools, in continuation of the

Anglo-vernacular middle course, have a 10th, an 11th and a 12th class. It is now proposed to re-classify the school classes, and when vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools are amalgamated there will be no distinction between them, and the course at both will be a three years' course, represented by 5th, 6th and 7th classes, while the term of the high school course will be changed from three years to four and the high school classes will be numbered 8, 9, 10 and 11. At high schools pupils are prepared for the matriculation and school final examinations. Many high schools contain also middle and primary departments.

124. Colleges provide instruction in the courses for degrees prescribed by the University of Allahabad or one or more of its faculties for students who have passed the matriculation or school final examination. The course of study concluded in the matriculation or school final class of a high school is carried on through four further classes, two teaching up to the first arts or intermediate standards, and two teaching up to the standards required for the degrees of Bachelors of Arts or of Science. Colleges may also contain additional classes teaching up to the standards required for the degrees of Master of Arts, Master of Science, or Bachelor of Laws. Colleges.

125. Schools are divided as regards management into—

(1) schools under public management, that is to say—

(a) schools controlled by Government;

(b) schools controlled by Local Bodies or Boards;

(2) schools controlled by private bodies, subdivided into—

(a) schools aided by Government or by local and municipal funds; •

(b) unaided schools.

Management of Schools.

126. Schools under public management include Government schools and Board schools. Government schools are those which are directly managed by Government or by an officer appointed by it, and Board schools those which are managed by District Councils and Municipal Committees. Educationally speaking, it is laid down that the first concern of local bodies must be primary and vernacular middle education, which is therefore almost entirely confined to Board schools; Government, however, maintains primary schools in cantonment areas, and a few vernacular middle schools attached to normal schools. All the Anglo-vernacular middle schools which were formerly controlled by Schools under public management.

District Councils have now been provincialised: municipalities however maintain such schools, but on the general principle that before doing so they must first have made full provision for primary education. Government maintains high schools at the head-quarters of every district except Narsinghpur and Seoni, where there are efficient high schools maintained by Missions. The only Board high schools are those maintained by the Municipal Committees of Hinganghat, Burhanpur and Ellichpur.

Schools
under
private
manage-
ment.

127. Schools under private management which receive grants from provincial or local funds follow the curricula and rules of the Educational Department, and are open to inspection by its officers. Unaided schools are in no way under the Department's control. Examples of them are the so-called "indigenous" schools conducted upon native methods, the "national" schools associated with the non-co-operation movement, and schools maintained for the education of special sections of the community, such as Jains, Gujarathis, Marwaris, or Bohras.

Recognition.

128. All colleges and those high schools which are public schools under public management or aided schools under private management are recognised by the Allahabad University; that is to say, they can prepare and present candidates for the prescribed University examinations. All colleges and schools which are under public management, all aided institutions under private management, and a very small number of unaided private schools are recognised by the Education Department, and can therefore send up pupils for the high school and middle school entrance and scholarship examinations. No pupil of an unrecognised school may appear as a candidate in any prescribed examination without the sanction of the departmental authorities.

Public Works Department.

A.—Roads and Buildings (Transferred).

B.—Irrigation (Reserved).

129. The Roads and Buildings branch of the Public Works Department is controlled by a Chief Engineer, who is also Secretary to Government in his own department, and is assisted by an Under-Secretary, who is generally a senior Executive Engineer. The province is divided into Circles, each under a Superintending Engineer, each Circle into Divisions, each in charge of an Executive Engineer, and each Division into Sub-divisions, under Sub-Divisional Officers. The Irrigation Branch is under the control of a Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, who also is assisted by a senior Executive Engineer as Under-Secretary, with

a similar organisation of Circles, Divisions and Sub-Divisions. These charges in both branches are filled by members of the Indian Service of Engineers and of the Central Provinces Engineering Service. Below these services are upper and lower Subordinate Services. The cadre of the Roads and Buildings branch includes one Superintending Engineer, one Executive Engineer, and five Sub-Divisional Officers required for service in the Central India Agency.

Medical Relief and Public Health (Transferred).

130. The Ministry of Medical Relief and Public Health comprises a Medical and a Public Health Department. The higher appointments in the Medical Department are usually held by commissioned officers of the Indian Medical Service. The Head of the Department is the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. For each district there is a Civil Surgeon, who is, generally speaking, the Deputy Commissioner's advisor in medical matters and in his further capacities of district representative of the Public Health Department and, where there is no Central Jail, of Superintendent of the District Jail. The Civil Surgeon of Nagpur is also Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum at Nagpur, and of the Robertson Medical School at Nagpur. Medical appointments are also held by commissioned and warrant officers of the Indian Medical Department and by the Provincial Medical Service. Hospitals and dispensaries are for the most part managed by Dispensary Fund Committees composed of representatives of Government, Local Bodies, and subscribers. The Director of Public Health, who is a commissioned officer of the Indian Medical Service, deals with vital statistics, sanitation, vaccination and epidemic diseases. He is assisted by two Health Publicity Officers for general health propaganda work, by a Provincial Public Health Board, which advises Government and Local Bodies on water supply, drainage, sanitation, town extension schemes, etc., and by a small staff of plague medical officers. There is a Vaccine Institute at Nagpur in charge of a Civil Assistant Surgeon of the Provincial Medical Service. Vaccination is compulsory in Municipalities and optional in rural areas; vaccinators are paid entirely by local bodies. Many Municipal Committees maintain Sanitary Inspectors, to whose pay Government contributes. The Director of Public Health is the provincial officer responsible for the compilation of vital statistics. Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in municipalities, notified areas and cantonments; for rural areas, where registration is not compulsory, registers of births and deaths are maintained by the police at each station-house from the information supplied by *mukaddams*, *patels* and

hotwars, who are bound under the Land Revenue laws to report all births and deaths occurring in their villages. Vital occurrences within railway limits are reported at the nearest police station-house by the railway authorities. The various registers are inspected and checked by Revenue, Medical, and Police officers and by the vaccination staff.

Other Departments.

Agriculture
(Transferred).

131. The Head of the Agricultural Department is the Director of Agriculture, an officer of the Indian Agricultural Service, to which belong the expert agricultural staff of Deputy Directors, and Assistant Directors, the Agricultural Chemist, the Principal of the Agricultural College at Nagpur, Economic Botanist, and Mycologist. For agricultural purposes the province is divided into 4 circles, each under a Deputy Director of Agriculture. The headquarters of the Southern and Western Circles are at Nagpur, of the Northern Circle at Jubbulpore, and of the Eastern Circle at Raipur. The work of Deputy Directors is the carrying out of seed and other practical tests on the various farms under their charge, and the general supervision of the agricultural work of their circles. Assistant Directors, and Extra-Assistant Directors, who belong to the Provincial Service, work as their assistants, and are posted to the headquarter towns either of circles or of districts. The work of demonstration in districts is entrusted to the Agricultural Assistants of the Subordinate Agricultural Service, of whom many are also employed as farm superintendents, and a few on college and research work.

**Civil
Veterinary
Department**
(Transferred).

132. The Veterinary Department is controlled by a Superintendent assisted by a Second Superintendent, both of whom belong to the Indian Civil Veterinary Department. Under them are three Deputy Superintendents, of the Provincial Veterinary Service, and 16 Inspectors of the Subordinate Veterinary Service. Below them are 113 Veterinary Assistants, in charge of the veterinary dispensaries, of which the majority are situated at the headquarter towns of tahsils.

Industries
(Reserved
and
Transferred).

133. The work of the Department of Industries falls into two broad groups; a "reserved" group which includes factory, boiler, and electricity inspection, the prevention of smoke nuisances and the investigation of labour problems; and a "transferred" group, which comprises the development of industries and technical and industrial education. The Head of the Department is the Director of Industries, who is also Registrar of Co-operative Societies and a member of the Commission. Associated with him is an Advisory Board of members of whom some are officials and

9 are members of the Legislative Council. His staff consists of a Chief Inspector and two Inspectors of Boilers, an Electrical Adviser, a Textile Expert, a Leather Expert, an Inspector of Industrial Schools, a Senior Inspector of Factories and a Commercial Agent. The Department controls seven schools of handicrafts and the reformatory school at Jubbulpore. The Provincial Museum at Nagpur is also under its charge; the museum staff consists of a Curator and a Coin Expert.

134. The Registrar, Co-operative Societies is the head of the Co-operative Department. He is assisted by a Deputy Registrar who also is a member of the Commission. Under them are three Circle Officers who inspect and supervise the work of the staff of one Chief Auditor and 35 Auditors maintained to audit the accounts of Co-operative Societies and Central Banks.

135. Income-tax is a central subject administered by the Board of Inland Revenue, and the Local Government is no longer concerned with it except as regards the appointments of the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners of Income-tax, which rest with the Local Government under the Agency rules. The Department in the province is in charge of the Commissioner of Income-tax, who is a member of the Commission, and is assisted by 2 Assistant Commissioners, 13 Income-tax officers, 12 Inspectors, 6 Examiners and 25 Sub-Inspectors.

The Deputy Commissioner.

136. A fuller account can now be given of the duties of the Deputy Commissioner of a district. As District Magistrate he is primarily responsible for the maintenance of law and order, for the administration of criminal justice by the magistracy within his jurisdiction, and for the proper working of the police. As Deputy Commissioner he is the official head of his district, the district representatives of other departments being for the most part his advisers in matters concerning their departments, and corresponding through him, so that he may watch over and co-ordinate all Government activities in his district and safeguard the interests of the general public. It is his duty to see that the land revenue and revenue derived from forests and excise are duly collected, and he is responsible officially for all public money lodged in the district and subordinate treasuries. He is in charge of the administration of revenue law and the maintenance of land records, and must give constant attention to the state of the crops, the economic condition of the people, the need for remissions or suspensions of land revenue, and to any symptoms of approaching scarcity.

He is the local agency through which the Court of Wards exercises its powers. The forests in his district are under his control and management. He is the authority to whom all applications for licenses and leases under the Mining Rules are made. He is ultimately responsible for fixing the sites and numbers of excise shops, and for the conduct of the annual excise sales. He has powers of control over local bodies, whose official correspondence passes through him, and whose activities are liable to his inspection; it is thus his duty to bring to the notice of the Local Government all delinquencies on their part. He is largely responsible for the maintenance and planning of roads, the spread of education, the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries and for the general public health of his district, and for the prevention or stamping out of cattle disease. Finally his many duties necessitate frequent tours and visits of inspection at all seasons of the year.

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTER OF LAND TENURES AND SYSTEM OF SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.¹

Land Tenures.

137. Though practically the whole of the Central Provinces had been under Maratha rule for two generations before annexation by the British, the systems of land revenue administration in the different parts of the province at the time of their cession manifested important variations, due to local conditions, to the character of the various Governments overthrown by the Marathas, and to the varying fortunes of their rulers. In a consideration of pre-British revenue systems it is convenient to group the districts under ²four headings:—(i) the Saugor-Nerbudda Territories, comprising the districts of Saugor, Damoh, Jubbulpore, Mandla, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, Betul and Seoni, and the Northern half of the present Balaghat district; (ii) the Nagpur Country, comprising the Nagpur Division, with the exception of Northern Balaghat, and the district of Chhindwara; (iii) the Chhattisgarh Division; and (iv) the Feudatory States, *Zamindaris* and *Jagirs*.

Historical
Sketch.

138. Between 1803, when the Nagpur kingdom lost Berar and Cuttack, and 1818, the year of the cession of the Saugor-Nerbudda Territories, the Bhonsla, whose land revenue had in 1803 been reduced from 100 lakhs to 60 lakhs of Nagpur rupees, made strenuous efforts to recover his losses by enhancement of revenue in his remaining districts, and actually succeeded in so enhancing it till in 1898 it amounted to 76 lakhs of Nagpur rupees, or only two lakhs short of the 1886 revenue of the whole Central Provinces, which were then considerably more extensive than the Nagpur kingdom in 1818. A similar state of things prevailed in the Saugor territories of the

The
Saugor-
Nerbudda
Territories.

¹For further information for the Central Provinces see "Introduction to the Land Revenue and Settlement Systems of the Central Provinces" (Government Press, Nagpur, 1922).

²Sambalpur and Nimar had also distinct systems of their own, discussion of which is beyond the scope of this brief account.

Peshwa. It is clear that such results could only have been possible under a system of ruthless rack-renting, which swept aside existing rights and customs if they stood in the way of the state-demand. The system found by the first British administrators in vogue throughout the Saugor and Narbada country was one under which villages were farmed out to the highest bidder, and what had originally been the almost hereditary rights of the village headmen or *patels* had practically disappeared. The Maratha system aimed at keeping as many villages as possible under *khalsa* or Crown management, collecting direct from cultivators. Leases were, however, often given for terms of from one to three years, on conditions which seldom left the lessee more than one-tenth of the rental assets as profit, and often the demand exceeded the estimated assets of the village. *Patels* had no legal right to the renewal of their annual leases, and a favourite method of extortion was to tempt them by titles and dresses of honour to bid against each other for the lease. In consequence many of the older *patels* had to "make way for a race of speculating farmers, who agreed to any conditions the revenue authorities might make, in the hopes of securing a footing in the village for better times to come". Where the situation of the *patel* was so precarious, that of the *raiya* was very insecure, no rights of occupancy being recognised, and the *patel* treating his *raiya*s much as he himself was treated by the revenue authorities. No hereditary rights were recognised, though in fact land often passed from father to son so long as the rent was paid; but fresh engagements were made every year, and the previous tenant if outbid was ousted. In certain isolated instances in each district estates survived in the possession of families which had held them for generations.

The Nagpur
Country.

139. In the Nagpur country the Marathas had succeeded the Gonds; and the land revenue system there prevailing had probably before the days of the Raj-Gond chieftains of Deogarh and Chanda been identical with that of Berar under its pre-Moslem rulers, of whose dominions the country west of the River Wainganga, which was the approximate boundary of the Marathi-speaking regions, formed part. This system had been retained to some extent by the Raj-Gond chieftains, so far as they followed any system at all, and cannot therefore strictly speaking, be attributed to the Gonds, whose revenue demands were based on a constantly varying demand for tribute from the Muhammadan rulers of Berar, and who in all their official correspondence and actions seem to have used the Marathi language and to have followed previous Hindu custom. The Marathas never recognised in the Nagpur country the hereditary *deshmukhs* and

deshpandias whom they found there. In most respects the Maratha system resembled that of the Saugor-Narbada territories. The assessment was made annually, and its amount was fixed in the first place in the aggregate for the *pargana*, being based on previous assessments, but affected largely by the needs of the present Government. The *pargana* assessment was distributed among the villages by the *pargana* officer or *kamavishdar* in consultation with the *patels*, the Government agents for the apportionment and collection of the village revenues. Engagements for the Government demand on the village were taken from *patels* at the beginning of the agricultural year, but the amount for which they were to be responsible was not fixed or announced to them until sufficient time had elapsed for the character of the season to become apparent. No traces of fixed assessments or assessment rates existed, and the village *jama* constantly fluctuated. At the settlements concluded at the beginning of the agricultural year between the *patel* and the *raiya*s it was thus impossible at that stage to fix the rent of each portion of land; no rental was therefore fixed for the main portion of the village lands, known as the *chal* lands, but each field was given a value, termed its *ain*, expressed in annas, pies, or cowries per rupee, to denote its revenue-paying capacity in relation to the other *chal* fields of the village. Thus the revenue payable on a field of which the *ain* was 6 pies would be half that payable on a field of which the *ain* was 1 anna, and the yearly demand by fields could be easily worked out when the village assessment became known. The *ain* was not permanently fixed, and varied from year to year. The poorer fields, known as *thok* fields, were let on fixed money rents, as no *raiya*t would have been willing to cultivate them if they had been liable to a fluctuating demand. When the annual assessment of the village was announced, the rent of *thok* fields was first deducted from it, and the balance distributed over *chal* fields in proportion to their *ains*. Land often passed from one class to the other. A yearly record corresponding to the modern *jamabandi*, called the *lagwan*, was prepared, giving details of the agreements entered into for the year between the *patel* and the *raiya*s. Neither *patel* nor *raiya*t had any hereditary rights: the former was a Government rent collector whose remuneration amounted to about one-sixth of the Government demand, and whose office was held at the pleasure of Government and was neither hereditary or saleable; the *raiya*s were none of them entitled to cultivate the same lands in perpetuity or to hold their lands on more favourable terms than others. To the period of British management during the 12 years (1818—1830) of Raja Raghujii III's minority, the Nagpur country owed the substitution of triennial for annual

settlements, and the limitation of the authority of the *patel* over the *raiya*.

Chhattis-
garh.

140. Chhattisgarh, as has been noticed in the historical summary, was for many centuries the home of an organisation partly feudal and partly tribal, under the loose suzerainty of the Rajas of Ratanpur and Raipur (*vide* Part III, paragraph 34). When British officers undertook the management of Chhattisgarh in 1818, it had for eighty years endured Maratha rule, which had aimed so far as possible at suppressing the feudal power of the *diwans* of the *garhs* or districts of 84 villages. The Maratha rulers suppressed many of these '*garh*' chieftains and brought their lands under *khalsa* management; but in the remoter parts of the country many survived, and still survive as the modern *zamindars*, whose tenures are discussed later. So thoroughly was the old Haihayabansi organisation swept away, that Major Vans Agnew, the British Superintendent of Chhattisgarh, writing in 1820, describes a revenue system very similar to that of the Nagpur country. The village headman was the old *gaontia*, the term *patel* being properly applied to the head of a taluq (the old *barhon*). The annual assessment, as at Nagpur, was not announced when the *gaontia* made his agreement at the beginning of the agricultural year, but, even later than at Nagpur, when several months had passed and a first instalment, based on the previous year's assessment, had been paid. As at Nagpur the *kamavishdar* apportioned the *pargana* assessment among the villages. The Chhattisgarhi *raiya*, however, paid not by the *ain* of his field, but by the *ain* of himself, the revenue being fixed by the plough, and each *raiya* paying the sum, or a multiple or simple fraction of the sum which was fixed as the value of a plough in his village for the year. Inequality of assessment was corrected by increasing or diminishing the area of holdings. For the land revenue to be equally distributed it was necessary that the village should be divided into as many plots of exactly similar land as there were ploughs in the assessment, and that these plots should be distributed among the *raiya*s according to the number of ploughs for which each was responsible. In most villages there were at least four kinds of soils, and it was necessary that each "plough" of land should include samples of each soil in proper proportion; and hence it consisted, not in a compact block of land, but in a great number of small, often tiny plots scattered about all over the village. The origin of this system was the ancient tribal custom of *lakhabatta*, a device for readjusting the distribution of land when it had become unequal by increase either in cultivation or in the number of *raiya*s; it was carried out

ontia, who assembled the *raiya*s and made a new satisfy all parties, partitioning the village land into equal value, allotting each *mora* if possible to fellow- and then dividing each *mora* into ploughs. No heres were recognised among *patels*, *gaontias*, or *raiya*s. tigarh triennial settlements were not substituted for lements during the period of British management, on d that the poverty and fluctuating state of the s opposed to anything more permanent than yearly s. Otherwise reforms were introduced similar to those at

Feudatory States, Zamindaris and Jagirs.

The systems already described, which may be summarising saying that most villages were left in the hands of *patels*, *gaontias*, *malguzars* or *thekedars*), who held firm of the village land revenue from the Government, in the *khalsa* country, the area under direct Crown ant. But a very large area, over two-fifths of the whole, a large proportion of the wilder parts of the province, was rsons whose status was of a more substantial character, by grant or long prescription, were possessed of groups or tracts over which they claimed rights approaching in ects the proprietary status of English law. Many of tes, as was seen in the historical summary, are of great almost all dating from before the Maratha conquests. convenient before passing to the description of tenures in area, to trace the revenue history of these estates down sent time. The Marathas allowed them to continue on of tributes; and despite their authority and influence lefs were always nominally subject to the paramount nt of the day. The tenure was in fact a service tenure, feudal nature; and the estates originated as rewards for service, and as means to ensure the maintenance nd order in the wilder parts of the country. Where rendering of service had become obsolete, a trace inal obligations of the tenure survived in the fact lder rendered to the Government less than a full land assessment, in other words, that his money payment d only a part of his responsibilities. Estates of this kind as *talugdaris* or *jagirdaris* in the north of the province, *mindaris* in the south. They are most numerous in east corner; no less than four-fifths of the Chhattisgarh nd nearly one half of the Chanda district were held on i tenure.

142. When the settlement of the country under the newly

Nagpur *Zamindars* —

Bastar.
Kalahandi.
 Kanker.
 Khairagarh.
 Chhuikhadan.
 Kawardha.
 Nandgaon.

Sambalpur *Garhjat* Chiefs—

Bamra.
Patna.
 Raigarh.
 Sarangarh.
Sonpur.
 Sakti.
Rehralol.

Saugor-Nerbudda Chief—
 Makrai.

formed Central Provinces Administration was under consideration, early steps were taken to determine the future position of these estates. Sir Richard Temple divided them into two classes, consisting of those who had no claims to be treated as other than ordinary subjects, and those who might be maintained as Chiefs having a quasi-sovereignty, the tests adopted for the division being material and personal qualifications of antiquity of tenure, extent of territory, character and the like. On the basis of his recommendations the Government of India decided to recognise as Feudatory States the fifteen estates shown in the margin. The five states shown in italics were transferred to Bengal in 1905, when the five Chhota Nagpur States of Sirguja, Udaipur, Jashpur, Korea and Changbhakar were transferred to the Central Provinces. Though this distinction was made, historically the new Chiefs and the remaining *zamindars* and *jagirdars* were essentially of the same class, the former being really only *primi-inter pares* so far as actual status was concerned. All the fifteen received in 1866 or later *sanads* setting forth the incidents of their tenure, such as payment of tribute liable to periodical revision, and judicial and revenue powers subject to certain restrictions: these *sanads* are revised from time to time. Broadly speaking, the Chiefs hold on condition of loyalty and good government, but are nominally free from direct intervention, save in the case of death sentences, which require the Governor's confirmation, and, in certain states, of sentences of more than seven years' imprisonment, which require confirmation by the Political Agent. Their territories are not British territory, and they are therefore not liable to British India revenue law, though in point of fact many States have undertaken settlements on lines similar to those followed in British districts. The five Chhota Nagpur chiefs exercise considerably less independent powers than those of other States; and in their latest *sanads* (1905) it is provided that in the settlement and collection of land revenue the Chief shall consult and comply with the wishes of the Political Agent. Government has in fact exercised a large measure of control, owing to the frequency with which States have been taken under direct management, either from the misconduct or the minority of a Chief. On such occasions the affairs of a State are usually managed, under the Control of the Political Agent, by a Superintendent appointed by Government.

who is usually an officer specially selected from the Provincial or Subordinate Civil Service, according to the size of the State. In some cases also the assent of Government to the accession of a new Chief is made contingent on his employing an officer nominated by Government as his Superintendent, or submitting his annual budget for the Political Agent's sanction. The States cover an aggregate area of 31,176 square miles, and pay to Government a tribute of Rs. 2,41,100.

143. The remaining *zamindars* or *taluqdars* were simply *Zamindars*. declared proprietors of their estates, but received very different treatment in different cases. *Taluqdari* estates in the old Saugor-Narbada territories, which came under British rule 36 years earlier than the rest of the province, had by the time of the 1863 settlement lost most of their distinctive feature, and were simply settled with the *taluqdar*, village by village, on the system followed in the *khalsa*, preserving, however any claims to hold at less than a full revenue payment. The only respect in which all the other *zamindars* alike were treated similarly to the ordinary *malguzar* of the *khalsa* was that the same settlement officer who settled the *khalsa* enquired also into their status and the condition of their estates, recorded the rights and liabilities of the various holders and occupiers of the land, and fixed the assessment of the Government land or *takoli* to be paid by the *zamindars*. The *jagirs* of Hoshangabad and Chhindwara and the *zamindaris* of the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh country were settled by estates, not by villages, and in Chhindwara and Chanda a patent was conferred on each holder defining the incidents and privileges of his tenure, and establishing an entail, the estates being inalienable and not liable to partition. Similar restrictions were placed on the tenure of the Bilaspur *zamindars*, and it was intended that the *zamindars* of Raipur should be treated in the same way, but by some mistake no limitations were in fact placed on their tenure. (The Drug district, which was formed in 1906, and added to shortly afterwards, includes certain *zamindaris* originally in Raipur and Chanda.) The numerous and important estates in Bhandara and Balaghat are held free of special conditions, their *zamindars* being nearer to ordinary subjects than the others: they are therefore liable to the ordinary Hindu Law as to transfer and succession, and have frequently availed themselves of the right to alienate their villages; such villages have been reassessed to full *malguzari* land revenue and not to *takoli*. But when opportunity has presented itself, Government has more than once, as in the case of the Koinapur or Porla estate of Balaghat, taken action to reconstitute the remnants of estates

thus ruined by alienation and partition on a basis of inalienability and impartibility.

144. It has been already mentioned that the *taluqdari* or *zamindari* status was subject to the obligation of military or police service. At the same time it generally carried some special privileges, which may be regarded as functions of the ruling power held by delegation, the most prominent of which were the right to administer excise and levy a tax on traders (*pandhri*). In the northern districts, the *taluqdars* were relieved from police duties and deprived of their excise privileges, on payment of compensation, while the country was under the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces Government. The *zamindars* of Bhandara and Balaghat were similarly treated at or shortly after the settlement of 1863. Most of the Chhattisgarh *zamindars* retained their police responsibilities till the re-settlement of the nineties, but were then relieved of them; and the same action was subsequently taken in respect of the *zamindaris* of Chanda and the *jagirs* of Chhindwara and Hoshangabad, so that there no longer remains any portion of British territory in which the police force is not directly controlled by Government. In the matter of excise it was decided in 1892 that the monopoly of this branch of the revenue could not be regarded as an incident of the *zamindari* tenure. The excise administration was therefore resumed by Government in 1893, subject to the payment of compensation for the curtailment of profit and authority; some of the *zamindars* were granted a special farm of the excise revenue for a term of years, with a view to mitigating the loss of dignity which they might consider to be entailed on them by the abrogation of their powers. The administration of pounds, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Chhattisgarh *zamindars*, was resumed in 1903, on payment of compensation to the *zamindars*. The *pandhri* tax is no longer in existence. The legality of the action of Government in resuming the administration of police, excise and pounds was upheld by a decision of the Privy Council in 1912.

Revenue-free grants.

145. A third class of villages was originally *khalsa*, but had come into the hands of persons or religious foundations to whom their revenue had been specially granted by the State. It is not easy to determine in all cases how far these grants included the ownership of the land in addition to the right to appropriate its revenue. But it is clear that these grantees, known generally as *muafidars* held a far stronger position as a rule than the ordinary *khalsa* lessee; and indeed many of the grants expressly conveyed full out-and-out proprietorship of the soil.

British administration till the grant of proprietary rights.**The Saugor-Nerbudda territories, 1818-1835.**

146. The most important landmark in the revenue history of the Central Provinces is the grant of proprietary rights made at the regular thirty years settlements of the sixties. The decision to adopt this change had already been taken separately in the Nagpur Province and in the Saugor-Narbada Territories before their amalgamation; and it had been arrived at by distinct paths, though in both cases it had been largely affected by the policy of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, which administered the Saugor-Narbada Territories and Nimar. During the first 20 years of British rule in the former territories, the Maratha practice of effecting the settlement of villages with lessees was followed, with the radical difference that instead of the revenue being allowed to vary from year to year and being unadjusted till the close of the year, the demand was now fixed for the year and left invariable for a term of five years. The sudden change was bewildering both to Government's attempts to regulate its demand within sure limits, and to farmers and cultivators, who were unable to estimate in advance whether the contracts to which they subscribed would prove profitable or unprofitable. It was combined with an abortive attempt to maintain and even increase the extortionate revenue formerly realised by the Bhonsla Government, it being commonly believed that the peace and security afforded by British rule must increase local wealth. Such sanguine expectations of revenue led to the acceptance of the highest offers made for villages, and thus opened a field for speculation at the expense of old established *malguzars*. The situation was aggravated by a series of bad seasons and by an extraordinary fluctuation and decline in prices, while the introduction of peace and security, by causing a decline in the cost of local civil and military expenditure from Rs. 6'37 lakhs in 1816 to less than Rs. 2 lakhs in 1823, had deprived the rural population of the best markets for their produce. The Marathas moreover had only realised their heavy assessments by a systematic disregard of all established rights: if they put the screw on the *patel*, they did not prevent him from doing the same in the case of the *raiyat*. The new policy however constantly interfered between *patel* and *raiyat*, and while continuing to place a heavy demand on the former, prevented him from carrying it on to his *raiyats*. The inevitable consequence was the reduction of assessments and a decline in the revenue demand during the first 20 years from 28½ lakhs to about 24 lakhs.

The twenty
years
Settlement.

147. The breakdown of the system led to the issue in 1835 of orders for a 20 years settlement, the guiding object of which was to be an attempt "to give to all concerned an interest in improving the land." At that time the proprietary rights of *zamindars* were being recognised in the North-Western Provinces, and though it was admitted that no such rights existed in *malguzari* lands in any part of the Saugor-Narbada Territories except in a part of the Damoh district, yet, under the influence of current opinion in the North-Western Provinces, the new settlements were so framed that they paved the way to the eventual adoption of the proprietary system. The settlements were made with the *patel* in possession except in parts of Damoh, where it was open to village communities through self-chosen agents to engage for the agreed revenue. Lessees were only to be removed for default during the term of settlement, and were given an assurance of renewal of their lease on condition of good management. They were to make their own terms with the *raiya*s, furnishing a *jamabandi* for record, and notifying all subsequent changes. They could distrain for arrears of rent upon the standing crops and personal property, other than cattle, grain and agricultural implements, of the *raiya*t, and could eject him if a decree for arrears went unsatisfied. They might dispose of the terms of their lease with the Collector's consent, but might not under-let; and, finally, considerable restrictions were placed on the powers of local revenue officers to interfere between *patel* and *raiya*t. The settlements made effected a net reduction of Rs. 1½ lakhs in the revenue.

Orders for
the grant of
proprietary
rights in the
Saugor-
Nerbudda
territories.

148. The logical outcome of the 20 years settlements was the recognition and declaration of proprietary rights in the land. All the local officers were recruited from the North-Western Provinces, where settlements had recently been concluded on a *zamindari* system at a time when the balance of opinion had swung back from approval of the *raiya*t^{ary} system as established in Madras and Bombay in favour of the creation of landed proprietors, though on a village and not an estate scale. In 1847 the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces had recorded a minute advocating the extension of this system to the Saugor-Narbada Territories; and the deliberations which followed ended, on the expiry of the twenty years settlement in 1853, in a decision in favour of a settlement on the basis of proprietary right, it being resolved formally to confer the proprietary title as the creation or free gift of the Government. The Proclamation of June 1854, which announced the new policy, affirmed Government's intention to confer the new right on those to whom long possession had given the best title, or who since the cession had brought

their estates under cultivation and had regularly paid the Government demand; it provided for the sharing of estates between one or several shareholders in joint or separate possession, joint shareholders being made jointly responsible for all dues upon their property; and every proprietor was to be allowed a free right of transfer or partition. Where there were several proprietors of one estate, one was to be appointed *lambardar* to engage for the general management of the *mauza*, and to receive a drawback of 5 per cent on the *jama* as a recompense for the trouble of collection. Before settlement the whole country was to be surveyed, and a careful village record made of each person's possession and length of time of possession, and of the extent of cultivation, the nature of the soil, and general agricultural statistics. It was provided that where no prior right could be proved to the soil, and a cultivator had been in uninterrupted possession of his holding at a fixed *jama* since 1840 and had regularly paid his *jama*, he should be made proprietor of his holding with the right of transfer, paying his *jama* either direct to Government, or through the *lambardar* of the *mahal* in which his holding was situated. The combined revenue and all cesses were in no case to exceed two-thirds of the *jamabandi* rental. Government reserved to itself all mineral rights, with a right of access to any spot for working minerals, and excluded from settlement all large forest with valuable timber. The proclamation thus conferred proprietary rights on the *malguzars* and, in certain cases, upon old-established cultivators, who were the first *malik-makbuzas*; but it left untouched the position of other cultivators and made no provision for occupancy rights. In 1856 therefore vague instructions were given that when proprietary rights were given to the *malguzar* the *kadim kashthkar* or old cultivator should remain on the same hereditary footing as before (though actually hereditary holdings had not previously been recognised). The Settlement Officer was also given power to fix rents payable by cultivators possessing these prescriptive rights of occupancy, but only if their present rents were extortionate. The Saharanpur Settlement Rules had also been applied to the Territories in 1855; they limited the State's share of the average rental assets to one-half instead of the previous two-thirds. At this stage the outbreak of the Mutiny interrupted the settlement preparations; and in 1861, shortly after the restoration of order and resumption of work, the Territories were amalgamated with the Nagpur Province to form the Central Provinces. A system of settlement was then organised for the province as a whole, the principles prescribed for the Saugor-Narbada Territories being laid down for the guidance of settlement officers throughout the province, and forming the foundation of its first Settlement Code of 1863.

The Nagpur Province, 1853—1861.

149. In the Nagpur Province during the period between the escheat of the Bhonsla Kingdom in 1853 and the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861, the administration continued on the lines of the old régime. The Government of India in June 1854 ordered that a summary settlement should be made for three years, during which careful enquiry was to be made into the prevalent systems of village management, with a view to the ultimate introduction of a regular system of settlement and survey. In this period the policy of interference between *patel* and *raiyyat* was re-affirmed; and rules issued in 1855 laid it down that a *kadim jotdar* (corresponding to the *kadim kashtkar* of the north), who had made improvements or was of long standing, would retain his holding at the old rate, the *malguzar* having power neither to eject him nor to increase his rent. Even the rents of new cultivators could not be fixed by the *malguzar* without reference to a *panchayat*. In 1860 the Commissioner made his report to the Government of India, proposing a long-term settlement of 20 or 30 years, and the grant of proprietary rights to *malguzars*, subject to various restrictions on their power of transfer, which were designed to prevent land falling wholesale into the hands of money-lenders and to re-establish old families which had been brought low by the exactions of the Maratha farming system; the rights of the *raiyyats* were also to be recorded and maintained. The Government of India in June 1868 sanctioned this proposal for the conferment of proprietary rights, modifying the proposed restrictions on the proprietors' power of transfer, and ordered a thirty years settlement on this basis: *malguzars* were in all cases to be left 40 per cent, and in special cases as much as 50 per cent of the village assets, and a careful report was to be made, before the issue of settlement instructions, as to the precise rights of all classes of the agricultural community, from the *malguzar* to the actual tiller or the soil.

The Growth of Tenancy Tenures.

150. The transformation of the village *patel* or farmer into the hereditary proprietary *malguzar* involved a change in the status of the cultivators from village *raiyyats* into the *malguzar's* tenants. With the introduction of long-term settlements the amount of the cultivators' payments ceased to correspond necessarily with the Government demand; and these payments began to represent rent and not merely the share of the Government revenue demand apportioned to the cultivators. The relation of the latter to the *malguzar* was becoming that of tenants to landlord, and the question arose whether *malguzars* could not enhance

payments during the currency of a settlement and eject tenants who refused to pay the rent demanded: out of this discussion arose a new distinction between old and new cultivators.

151. In the past the interests of the *raiya*s had been protected by local sentiment and by the influence of the district officers: but now, when proprietary rights were conferred on *malguzars*, it became necessary, in recording the incidents of those rights at settlement, to define the rights and liabilities of the tenantry. The grant of proprietary rights was by no means unconditional, and care was taken to protect the interests of both Government and cultivators. The policy guiding the rights of the latter was first announced in the North-Western Provinces Government's proclamation of June 1854 and the correspondence preceding it (*vide* paragraph 148 *supra*). It has been seen that, in the absence of a prior adverse right, the *kadim-kashtkars* who had been in uninterrupted possession of their holdings since 1840 were to be granted proprietary rights in their holdings: this was the origin of the *malik-makbuza* class. A year later the period of uninterrupted possession to entitle a cultivator to be called a *kadim-kashtkar* was fixed at 12 years. Although no definite orders were passed about the status of those *kadim-kashtkars* who did not obtain proprietary rights, it must have been intended that they should retain the rights which were commonly regarded as pertaining to them; but, as regards fixation of their rents, it was clearly laid down that they would remain on their present footing. It was made permissible to lower their rents and to declare the rents so fixed the highest that could be demanded so long as the circumstances of their holdings remained the same; this, however, was only to be done when the hereditary cultivators were ground down by exorbitant rents. On the other hand the rents were liable to enhancement on suit in the "regular revenue court". Tenants who were not *kadim-kashtkars* of either kind were to be "tenants-at-will": their rents were not to be adjusted by outside authority, and the landlord had recognized power to demand as high a rent as he could obtain and to oust a tenant at the end of the year if he could get better terms from somebody else. These orders were eventually included in the compilation of orders which formed the Settlement Code of 1863 for the thirty years settlements throughout the province.

152. We have seen that in sanctioning the proposals for grant of proprietary rights in the Nagpur Province, the Government of India had called for a full report on the nature of all kinds of agricultural tenures: before allowing the Saugor-Narbada instructions to be applied to all the province, that Government called for a further report as to the existence and conditions

of all permanent occupancy tenures in the Central Provinces. In the meantime, some form of law being urgently required to regulate matters of procedure, the Bengal Act X of 1859 was extended to the Central Provinces in May 1864. This Act laid down that every *raiya* who had cultivated or held land for a period of 12 years had a right of occupancy, thus confirming the term of continuous possession already laid down in the Saugor-Narbada orders, and largely solving the question which had necessitated the report called for by the central government. In December 1864 the Government of India ordered the occupancy and other provisions of Act X of 1859 to be enforced until repealed or modified: in the meantime, an early extension of the qualifying term of 12 years being probable, settlement officers were to make it clear that the record of a right of occupancy based solely on 12 years' continuous possession under Section 6 of Act X of 1859 was subject to any future amendment enlarging the period required to give a title by prescription. Rents were to be fixed at the time of settlement where possible by agreement between the proprietor and occupier, the Settlement Officer mediating in case of disagreement.

153. The effect of these orders was to cause a distinction between tenants who were entitled to occupancy rights merely in virtue of 12 years' continuous possession under Act X of 1859, who became known as "(conditional) occupancy tenants," and those who possessed more than this minimum qualification, who became "absolute occupancy tenants". The qualifications prescribed for the latter class were, roughly speaking, based on hereditary ownership, relationship to present or former "proprietors," the sinking of considerable capital in holdings, possession since the foundation of the village or the reclamation of the fields from jungle and possession from a date prior to the proprietor's connection with the village as its landlord. These orders were enforced by taking an engagement from proprietors in the form of a clause in the *Wajib-ul-arz* or village administration paper binding themselves to accept the rights secured to absolute occupancy tenants, which were, briefly, fixity of rent for the period of the current and every subsequent settlement, subject only to revision at the time of settlement, and a modified right of transfer, subject to the proprietor's right of pre-emption. By these processes originated the tenures of *malguzar*, *malik-makbuzas*, absolute occupancy tenant, occupancy tenant, and tenant-at-will, the proportions of *malik-makbuzas* and tenants of each kind to the total number of *raiya*s varying from district to district, but that of absolute occupancy tenants being everywhere the highest.

On this basis the record of the regular thirty years settlement proceeded everywhere save in Sambalpur, Nimar and Chanda, where special conditions led to special modifications; except, however, in Sambalpur, proprietary rights were everywhere conferred on the *malguzars*.

154. As the settlements proceeded, it began to be felt that the necessity for protecting the cultivating class had received insufficient attention, and especially that the 1853-54 orders regarding the grant of proprietary rights to cultivators were being neglected. The question was brought up by Mr. George Campbell, the Chief Commissioner, in 1868, with special reference to the *junadars* or old resident cultivators of Nimar, on whom it had originally been intended to confer proprietary right, and to the *raiyats* of Sambalpur, who in the past had held a strong position as against the *patel*. The resultant correspondence showed a strong reaction against the *malguzari* system, which went further when the settlements of Nimar, Sambalpur, and Chanda were under discussion and the advisability of extending the system to them was called into question. Lieutenant-Colonel Keatinge, V.C., the Officiating Chief Commissioner, in 1870 pointed out to the Government of India that there was no call for the conversion of village managers into landlords, that certainly no right to such conversion existed, and that if the *raiyats* could understand the meaning of the change they would combine to resist it; and drew attention to the great emigration from the *malguzari* settled Nagpur districts into *raiyatwari* Berar. He therefore proposed that in Nimar, where settlement operations had reached their final stage, all past proceedings should be cancelled, and a settlement be started *de novo* on the principles of the Bombay *raiyatwari* system; and that in Chanda, where he agreed that the proprietary rights already granted to *malguzars* could not now be withdrawn, the settlement should be confirmed only on condition that *malguzar* should not take from any cultivator, old or new, except on the *mukaddami* or home-farm lands or their own private holdings, more than the assessment fixed on the land, that they should oust no cultivator except for non-payment of the assessment, and that on new land cultivators should not be required to pay more than the average rates of the *pargana*: his object was thus to secure to cultivators rights as nearly equivalent as was possible under a *malguzari* system to those which they had enjoyed under their old tenures, which had been something approaching a *raiyatwari* system. Orders were not passed till June 21st, 1875, by the Government of India, which then admitted that the application in the past of the *malguzari* system

had been a mistake, it being foreign to the tenures of the country and unsuitable to the people. In order so far as possible to remedy the mistake, the broad principle was affirmed that the tenure of all cultivators should be fixed and permanent so long as the revenue or rent were paid, and that payments should not in general be liable to enhancement except at re-settlement; and this principle was to apply to all alike, save to the holders of the proprietor's *sir* or home-farm lands, who were declared to be the tenants-at-will of the *malguzars*. The substance of the orders passed was that absolute occupancy tenants continued as elsewhere, and that in Chanda and Nimar all other tenants who held land, other than *sir* land, on June 21st, 1875, and all tenants who might take up land after that date without a written lease, became occupancy tenants, holding on a tenure which was described as the "customary tenure", of which the main incidents were (a) that it was heritable both lineally and collaterally and (b) transferable to a co-sharer by inheritance or to an heir-expectant; (c) that the rent, if fixed by the Settlement Officer before June 21st, 1875, was to remain fixed during the term of settlement, and that otherwise the landlord might apply once and once only during the term of settlement to enhance the rate up to the maximum rate recorded for the class of soil held by the tenant; (d) that the tenant had the right to improve; and (e) that his power of subletting was restricted. Thus in Chanda and Nimar all cultivators except those on privileged lands were given a protected status; and in Chanda 24 villages which were still unsettled were ordered to be settled on the Bombay *raiayatwari* system.

Tenants-at-will.

155. In the first settlement instructions no definition was made of the status of "tenants-at-will", the forerunners of the "ordinary tenants" of a later date who comprised all those of less than twelve years' standing at the time of settlement. In districts other than Chanda, Nimar and Sambalpur, no rights were conferred on them at the thirty years settlement except that they might, so long as the twelve years rule under Act X of 1859 operated, rise to the status of occupancy tenants. The protection afforded to tenants in the past by custom or usage was weakened with the introduction of the new conception of proprietary right, and at the same time the circumstances of the province had changed fundamentally. Till recent times the competition had been that of landlords for tenants and not of tenants for land, and landlords had consequently been indifferent to the growth of a claim to occupancy; but as the province became opened up by the improvement of communications, landlords became less inclined to allow occupancy rights to accrue and more disposed to make enhancements. In these

circumstances the tendency of the 12 years rule naturally was to lead landlords to shift and harass their tenants, so as to prevent them acquiring occupancy rights under its terms. The people's own idea of just dealing in the matter was that so long as a man paid his rent, he should hold his land, and that as the *malgusar's* right to hold his village had been extended for ever, provided he paid his revenue, so the tenant's occupancy should be similarly extended, provided he paid his rent. The solution of the problem of how these tenants' interests were to be protected was taken up in the Tenancy Act of 1883, the preparation of which was begun in 1873; and the idea of a tenant-at-will, which was recognised to be entirely foreign to the people's conceptions, disappeared in favour of the "ordinary tenant" with definite status and right. The method adopted in the Act for their protection has been described as that of "compensation against disturbance". Under the Act an ordinary tenant's rent could be enhanced, and, in the event of his refusal to agree to the enhancement, the landlord could eject him, but only on payment of compensation; the tenant could not otherwise be ejected except for the non-payment of rent and for certain reasons specified in the Act.

Subsequent legislation.

156. Up till 1881 the only specific piece of revenue legislation in force in the Central Provinces was Act X of 1859: all other settlement and revenue procedure rested on a collection of executive orders issued from time to time to meet the demands of experience. The gradual spread of a settled order throughout the province led to the diffusion of legal knowledge and an increasing facility for obtaining legal advice which disturbed the long habituation of the people to executive guidance. It was therefore felt necessary to place the mutual rights and liabilities of Government and land-holders on a firm basis by the legal enactment of existing regulations and any necessary amendments. In 1880 therefore leave was obtained to introduce into the Governor-General's Legislative Council a Land Revenue Bill and a Tenancy Bill for the Central Provinces, which had been under preparation since 1873.

157. (a) *The Land Revenue Act.*—The Land Revenue Act, "to provide for the assessment and collection of the land revenue, and for the maintenance of the machinery required for those purposes", was passed in June 1881. In the first place, to save the existing settlements made before the Act was passed, it was provided that they were to be taken as if they had been made under the Act, while all claims to proprietary right in land, which had

been expressly decided to be invalid or inferior to the claims of others in whose favour an award had been made, were barred, and no civil suit was allowed to re-open them. The Act gave a legal basis for future settlements; it regulated the assessment and collection of the land revenue, the powers of Revenue Officers, settlement procedure, the preparation and maintenance of the record-of-rights, survey and village management. The Act of 1881, as amended in 1889 and 1898, remained in force till 1917, when an entirely new Act was passed in the provincial Legislative Council. The Act of 1889 amended or added to the revenue law in certain important particulars. The exclusion from the application of the Act of the *samindaris* scheduled under the Scheduled Districts Act (XIV of 1874) was withdrawn, and all the *samindaris* then became subject to the provisions of the Act. The law relating to *sir* land was modified, and provision was made for giving lessees or *thekadars* of villages protected status, if they had had long possession or had founded or improved their villages. A procedure was laid down for a *raiayatwari* settlement of Government land on the general lines of the Bombay system, which had already been adopted in the *raiayatwari* villages of Chanda. Provision was also made for regulating the partition of *mahals*. The 1898 Act made further amendments in the law of *sir* land, protected status of *thekadars* and the partition of estates.

158. (b) *Tenancy Legislation*.—Tenancy Legislation was simultaneously undertaken to supplement the land revenue legislation. The most important provision of the Tenancy Act of 1883 was the conversion of tenants-at-will into ordinary tenants, which has already been explained in paragraph 155. The Act defined the rights and liabilities of absolute-occupancy tenants, in this case following closely the existing record-of-rights, (conditional) occupancy tenants, and ordinary tenants, and added a further class, that of sub-tenants. It dealt with important questions of the transfer of holdings, enhancement of rent, ejectment of tenants, acquisition of tenants rights, and improvements of holdings. The absolute-occupancy tenant's rent was to be fixed by the Settlement Officer for the period of settlement, while the rent of occupancy tenants was to be fixed by him, and could not thereafter be enhanced for ten years. The rent of an ordinary tenant was left to be fixed between him and his landlord, but if he refused to accept an enhancement and the landlord applied to a Revenue Officer, the increased rent fixed by the latter could not again be raised within 7 years. The absolute-occupancy tenant had power to transfer his holding subject to the landlord's right of pre-emption, while the power of the occupancy tenant to transfer his holding to any person, other

than one who would be an heir or was a co-sharer, was subject to the landlord's consent. The Act of 1883 was slightly amended in 1889, when modifications affecting *sir* land necessitated by the simultaneous amendment of the Land Revenue Act were effected, the Act was extended to the scheduled districts, and a chapter was introduced dealing with village service tenants.

159. Further experience of the working of the amended Act showed the necessity for further important changes, notably as regards the fixation of tenants' rents. The rise in prices during the eighties and nineties led to a great enhancement of the rents of ordinary tenants in certain districts, and the experience of the second round of settlements, at which the Settlement Officer could only reduce an ordinary tenant's rent with the *malguzar's* consent, showed the necessity of a provision in the law empowering the Settlement Officer to fix *all* rents. The Acts of 1883 and 1889 were therefore repealed, and a new consolidating and amending Act was passed in 1898, which, with small modifications made in 1899 and in 1917, remained in force until 1920. The Act empowered the Settlement Officer to fix rents authoritatively at settlement; it withdrew the power of transfer from occupancy and ordinary tenants, reserved to proprietors occupancy rights in their *sir* land, and gave further protection to sub-tenants.

160. (c) *Tenancy Act of 1920*.—The Act of 1920 completely re-enacted the tenancy law. The Bill was mainly intended to elucidate and settle doubts which had arisen in the interpretation of the Act of 1898, but in the Select Committee it was decided completely to recast the Bill on clearer and more logical lines. One other great change was also made, though really one more of form than of substance. It has already been noticed that in the days before the regular 30 years settlement village sentiment held that so long as the cultivator paid the assessment on his land he should hold it from year to year. The first settlements, which had been based on foreign conceptions of landlord and tenant, sought to create a class of tenants-at-will, and while they protected in various ways the prescriptive rights of cultivators of long standing, left new-comers to settle the terms of their tenure of their land with their landlords. The Act of 1883 had recognised that this relationship was foreign to the feelings of the people, and had converted tenants-at-will into ordinary tenants with defined status and protection from arbitrary ejectments. The Act of 1898 had strengthened their position by empowering the Settlement Officer to fix all rents and thus to reduce rents of ordinary tenants if they appeared to be excessive. The increasing value of land gradually taught the *malguzars* means of making money out of a village

otherwise than by an enhancement of rents, the chief being the levying of premia or *nazarana* on the giving out of land to a new tenant. Moreover if rents were enhanced during the currency of a settlement, re-settlement involved loss to the *malguzars*, whereas if rents were allowed to remain stagnant and the *malguzars* realized the benefits of rising prices in other ways; re-settlement proved profitable to them. Hence the old sentiment of the cultivator that his payments should only be enhanced when the Government demand was raised came eventually to prevail, and for many years it has been very unusual for *malguzars* to interfere with rents. In other ways too the status of ordinary tenants had gradually approximated to that of occupancy tenants, and it was therefore decided to abolish the class of ordinary tenant and to convert all such into occupancy tenants. This change was effected with the full approval of the landlord class.

161. (d) *Land Revenue Act of 1917*.—The Land Revenue Act, II of 1917, had in the meantime been passed. It re-arranged, redrafted and elucidated the subject-matter of the old Act. It amplified and systematized the provisions affecting settlement policy; among these, Chapter V, which deals with maps, records and boundaries, prescribes definitely what the settlement record-of-rights shall contain; Chapter VI, which deals with settlement operations, marks an important development in that it gives much greater publicity to the start of operations in a district by providing that the re-settlement proposals shall be published for criticism, and that in connection with the village administration paper or *wajib-ul-ars*, the Settlement Officer is required to record arrangements and decide disputes among shareholders regarding village management; Chapter IX amends the law dealing with protection of *thekadars* and creates an entirely new class of protected village headmen; Chapter XIII systematizes the law dealing with the assessment of *raiya* villages and the conditions on which survey numbers are allotted and held; Chapter XIV amongst other miscellaneous provisions enumerates the rights and powers of Government and its assignees as regards mines and quarries.

Present system.

162. (a) *Malguzari tenure*.—The effect of the general grant of proprietary rights was much wider in *khalsa* than in *samindari* villages; it not merely extended or confirmed rights which were at the time in existence, but created completely new ones, converting a lease-hold into practically a freehold tenure, the holders of which are now-a-days known as *malguzars*. It is probable that the revenue farm of each village was originally granted to a single person, but it is clear that sharing was recognised, in other words, that

a farm could be held by a family as well as by an individual. Sharers in the village farm were admitted to a share in its proprietorship. In a very large proportion of cases the grant of proprietary rights resulted in the creation of a single proprietor for each village, but in some places, especially on the Bundelkhand border in the north and in the Wardha district, the claims to proprietary rights were found to be shared amongst a numerous body of persons connected with one another by family ties. During the sixty years which have passed since the *khalsa malguzars* were made proprietors, division of their land and profits has been practically unchecked. It has been noted above that many of the estates of the *zamindars* were confirmed to them on a condition of impartiality; but there are certain estates in which partition is not disallowed and is frequently effected.

163. The *malguzar's* own holding in his village is of two kinds, *sir* land and *khudkasht*. *Sir* land is roughly speaking his permanent home farm, and may be sub-let to a sub-tenant without that sub-tenant thereby acquiring occupancy rights in the land. *Khudkasht* is that part of the home farm of a *mahal* which is cultivated by the proprietor as such and which is not *sir* land; land surrendered by a tenant, or which comes in any way into the legal possession of the proprietor and is cultivated by him, becomes his *khudkasht* land, but if he at any time leases it to a tenant, that tenant at once acquires occupancy rights in the land. *Khudkasht* land continuously cultivated by a proprietor for not less than 6 consecutive years must be recorded as *sir* land unless with this addition the total area of *sir* land within the *mahal* exceeds one-fourth of the total occupied area of the *mahal*.

164. (b) *Inferior proprietorship and protected status*.—A peculiar variety of the *malguzari* tenure is that in which the rights of the *malguzar* are shared in by a "superior proprietor". This tenure was introduced principally in order to protect from aggression men holding villages in *talugdaris* or *samindaris*, whose claims to remain in possession might be injuriously affected by the recognition of the absolute ownership of the *samindar*. The most numerous class of persons made "inferior proprietor" were relations of the *samindar* holding villages for maintenance, but in some cases the status was granted to deserving lessees who had earned a title to their villages by founding or improving them. The number of lessees of this stamp to whom this protection was given was in some districts very small, and wholesale ejectments at the suit of the *samindar* ensued, which were checked by the provision of the Revenue Act of 1889 enabling a Settlement Officer to grant a village lessee in a *samindari* a "protected status," under which he

is secure from disturbance so long as he pays a fair rent. Speaking generally, villages held by inferior proprietors are managed entirely by them, the superior proprietor receiving an annual sum, called *malikana*, over and above the revenue in satisfaction of his claims. Where a *thekadar*, *gaontia* or farmer of proprietary rights has been in possession of a village or part of a village for not less than 20 consecutive years or has established or improved a village at his own cost, the Deputy Commissioner may inquire into his claims and with the previous sanction of the local Government may declare him to be protected, or confer on him the rights of an occupancy tenant in respect of the whole or part of his *sir* land or *khudkasht*, and may fix the rent to be paid by him. The incidents of this "protected status" are defined. It cannot be transferred or partitioned, and devolves by inheritance on one member only of the *thekadar's* family, and it carries with it a right to a renewal of the lease on expiry. The Deputy Commissioner, when inquiring into the circumstances of the *thekadar* before granting protection, draws up a written lease detailing every matter affecting the relations of the *thekadar* and the proprietor. Protected status is liable to forfeiture if the *thekadar* be shown to have contravened any of the incidents of tenure or violated the terms of his lease, to have mismanaged his village, to have diverted culturable land to non-agricultural purposes, to have failed to pay his rent or to have refused to execute the agreement drawn up by the Deputy Commissioner; but at the time of forfeiture the Government may reserve to the *thekadar* the rights of an occupancy tenant in the whole or part of his *sir* or *khudkasht* land. Similar provisions were inserted in the 1917 Land Revenue Act to secure the protection of village headmen responsible for the management of villages in certain of the more backward parts of the province, and especially in some of the *samindaris*, where it is desirable in the interests of the village community to maintain the traditional village headmen as farmers and to prevent the introduction of outsiders who are prepared to pay high prices to exploit the village. Power was therefore taken in the Act to declare in certain areas that the protection of village headmen is desirable: when such declaration has been made the Deputy Commissioner inquires into the suitability of the existing village headman for the post, and if he finds him suitable may declare him to be protected. When such protection has been granted, the successor on death or removal can only be appointed under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner.

165. (c) *Revenue-free grants*.—The grant of proprietary rights left the *muafidars* or revenue-free grantees in no higher

position than that of ordinary *malguzars*, apart from the revenue concession enjoyed by them. Villages of this class were most numerous in the Nagpur country, where, during the last days of the Bhonsla rule, court favourites and others were able to secure grants of village revenue on very slender grounds. In the northern districts such privileged tenures are called *ubaris* and in the south *muafis* or *maktas*, according as the village is wholly or partly revenue-free. The term *mokasa* is also used and generally denotes the revenue-free grant of a tract of land to a relative of the superior holder. In the Nagpur country a special class of grant called *tukums* was found to exist, which denoted a concession of revenue as a reward for constructing a tank in a rice village. A large proportion of these *muafi* villages and *muafi* plots of land were originally held as religious endowments and managed by a trustee. This trustee was not infrequently made the recipient of proprietary rights, in which case the object of the original grant was of course defeated. Generally speaking, the larger grants of revenue were made subject to good behaviour, and are personal and inalienable. The grant of proprietary rights made the proprietorship of the assignee in the village lands—apart from their revenue—transferable at his will, and the assignee can realize money by selling his lands, though Government is at liberty to call upon the purchaser to pay a full revenue when the original assignment of revenue was of a personal character. Annual enquiries are made by the Deputy Commissioner into the circumstances of revenue-free and quit-rent grants with a view to their resumption by Government on the expiry of the period for which they were made or on the breach of any condition attached to their continuance.

166. *Restrictions on the right of transfer of land.*—The stringent system of revenue farming prevalent during the first 30 years of British administration in the Saugor-Nerbudda territories and during the last days of Bhonsla rule in the Nagpur province caused a wide-spread displacement of the village cultivator class of revenue farmer by money lenders and outside speculators. It thus came about that the grant of proprietary rights, which was intended to benefit the land-holding classes, was in great measure a concession to the money-lending interest. This process has since been assisted by the complete freedom of transfer of their proprietary rights which was given to *malguzars* at the 30 years settlement. The problem of checking this transfer of land from the land-owning to the capitalist and professional classes has constantly engaged the attention of Government. As regards proprietary rights complete freedom of transfer exists. But in order to prevent the total severance of the proprietor from the land and to preserve to him

the means of subsistence, the Tenancy Act of 1898 secured to him a cultivating occupancy right in his *sir* land or home farm. No land-owner can lose or transfer his proprietary interest in his *sir* land without acquiring the right of an occupancy tenant, unless the transfer without reservation has been previously sanctioned by Government. Such sanction must always be given when it is proved that the transferor is wholly or mainly a non-agriculturist or that the property is self-acquired or has been acquired within the last 20 years, but in other cases only when for some special reason it is clearly to the interest of the transferor that his tenant right should not be reserved.

167. In order to protect aboriginal land-owners and to secure their retention on the land special legislation was undertaken. It was found that in many parts of the province, especially in backward tracts like Mandla, proprietors belonging to the simple and improvident aboriginal tribes, who are at a great disadvantage in dealing with their creditors who are not infrequently money-lenders non-resident in the tract, were being rapidly dispossessed of their villages. To check this, the Central Provinces Land Alienation Act, framed on the lines of similar legislation in other provinces, was passed in 1916. The Act, which applies only to such areas and such tribes as are specially notified, requires that the Deputy Commissioner's sanction should be obtained to the permanent alienation of land by an aboriginal proprietor to a non-aboriginal, and imposes certain restrictions on mortgages given by an aboriginal to a non-aboriginal.

168. (d) *Government Forest and Waste Lands; Raiyatwari tenures.*—The reserves of forest and waste, which constitute the estate held by Government as proprietor, with few exceptions owe their existence to the principles laid down in the Saugor-Nerbudda proclamation of 1854 (*vide* paragraph 148 *supra*), which were subsequently embodied in the 1863 Settlement Code and extended to the whole province. When proprietary rights were being granted to the *malguzars*, it was held unnecessary to include in this grant lands which in the past had played a merely nominal part in the village economy. This view, however, was carried into effect only in the *khalsa*, the jungle lands of *samindari* estates being left untouched. The general rule was to allow each village an area of waste or jungle up to a maximum of twice its cultivated area and not less than its cultivated area; but owing to the haste with which this part of the thirty years settlement operations was concluded, and to the fact that in many cases village areas had already been demarcated before the rule was announced, it was by no means strictly followed, and many villages were left with waste or jungle

areas far too large for their requirements, while other villages were left with jungles either insufficient in area or in an unsuitable position separated from the rest of the village; to rectify the latter class of anomalies, and to meet the demand for land in villages adjoining Government forest, special proceedings had to be taken later in 1887. The area of reserved waste further included many cultivated villages for which no claimant was forthcoming, a frequent phenomenon in the wilder parts of the province where the population is mainly aboriginal.

169. The area in which proprietary right was thus reserved by Government, amounting to some 20,000 square miles, was for the most part constituted Government reserved forests. The greater portion of this area was uncultivable, but there was a considerable remainder of cultivable and cultivated land. The policy of the Government of the day was not to establish an extensive and valuable Government property, but rather to affect the colonization of these waste lands through the agency and capital of European and other outside settlers. To attract such settlers, the Waste Lands Sales Rules of 1863 offered them sale of the reserved lands in fee simple in proprietary right free of revenue in perpetuity, with the right to all minerals on the land; and the Clearance Lease Rules of 1866 offered to persons unwilling to buy land leases which provided for the earning of proprietary rights, subject to the payment of land revenue from the twenty-first year of occupation, by the reclamation of 40 per cent of the land. The Waste Land Rules were abrogated in 1870 and the Clearance Lease Rules in 1872. Government policy, actuated largely by the views of Colonel Keatinge in opposition to the extension of the grant of proprietary rights, from 1872 gave way to one of an exactly contrary tendency; alienation was prohibited, the extension of cultivation viewed with jealousy, and the whole area of Government property, cultivated villages included, brought in 1879 under the provision of the Forest Act of 1878. Finally a compromise between the two extremes was adopted. Jungle tracts of real forest importance were gradually brought under permanent conservation, while arrangements were made for the promotion of cultivation in the considerable tracts of cultivable land included in the reserved areas. General rules for the excision, allotment and management on *raiyatwari* terms of such waste were framed under the provisions of the Land Revenue Act of 1881 (as amended in 1889 and 1898), and have been re-cast in the 1917 Act. No proprietary rights can now accrue from any lease of Government waste lands, or be granted outright except for such special reasons as the rectification of boundaries. Such waste land can only be taken up by private persons for cultivation

as Government *raiyats*, on payment of revenue assessed separately for each survey-number or plot of ground, the tenure being heritable but not transferable except to a co-sharer or heir-expectant, or, with official sanction, by a lease. In 1891 measures were taken for the general determination of the tracts suitable for the introduction or extension of cultivation; in all districts small scattered areas exist which have thus been excised from reserved forests, especially in Nimar, Mandla, Chanda, Balaghat and Seoni. The total area actually occupied for cultivation in *raiyatwari* villages was in 1920-21 1,073,820 acres (1,678 square miles) paying a revenue of Rs. 4,43,456. This total includes 21,992 acres comprised in *raiyatwari* villages which were never part of Government waste-lands. Adding a total of 301,770 acres of waste-land available for cultivation, the Government *raiyatwari* estate now amounts in all to 1,375,590 acres or 2,149 square miles.*

170. (e) *Malik-makbuzas*.—After *malguzari* tenures the most important is that of the *malik-makbuza* or plot-proprietor, the origin of which has already been discussed. The *malik-makbuza* holds at a separate assessment, which, however, he is bound to pay through the *lambardar* of the village in which his plot is situated, and possesses complete rights of transfer unfettered by a right of pre-emption on the part of the *malguzar*. Another class of persons whose status is recognised as that of *malik-makbuza* are holders of revenue-free plots of land in grant from Government, who now enjoy the right of transferring these plots by sale or mortgage, although the revenue assignment may be liable to resumption on such alienation. Use was also made of the tenure to protect village farmers in *talugas* or *samindaris* against unjust ejectment at the hands of the *taluqdar* or *samindar*. Before the enactment of the provisions of law enabling Government to grant a protected status to these men, the usual course was to declare the former to be *malik-makbuzas* of the village *sir* land if they suffered ejectment. At settlement the Settlement Officer may declare to be a *malik-makbuza* any person who has acquired proprietary rights over a definite area of a *mahal*, but is not entitled to share in the proprietary profits of the remainder of such *mahal*. *Malik-makbuzas* are most numerous in the Nimar district, where nearly 23 per cent of the lands are held in this right.

171. (f) *Tenants*.—The holding of an absolute occupancy tenant is heritable and is transferable, subject to pre-emption on the part of the landlord except when transferred to a co-tenant or heir-expectant, or mortgaged by simple mortgage or mortgaged by conditional sale.

* This total does not include forest village or *nistar* area.

or sub-let for a period not exceeding 10 years. His rent is fixed at settlement and can only be enhanced on proof that an improvement to his holding has been effected by the landlord since the rent was last fixed. An occupancy tenant is now defined as a person who is neither an absolute occupancy tenant or a sub-tenant. His tenure is heritable by direct succession or by male collaterals in a male line of ascent or descent and within 7 degrees of kindred from the tenant; but it is not transferable except by a sub-lease for one year, or to a co-tenant or heir-expectant, otherwise than by a simple mortgage. His rent is fixed at settlement or, if he acquires his holding during the currency of the settlement, by agreement between him and his landlord subject to arbitration in the case of dispute by a Revenue Officer. Unless in the meantime the landlord has improved the holding at his own expense, the rent is liable to enhancement at intervals of not less than 10 years either by agreement with the landlord or by order of a Revenue Officer on the ground that a specially low rent was fixed at settlement, that the area under cultivation has been extended, or that there has been a rise in local prices of produce, subject to certain restrictions. Whenever a Revenue Officer under the Tenancy Act passes an order enhancing a tenant's rent and considers that the immediate enforcement of such an order in full will result in hardship to the tenant, he may order that the enhancement shall be gradual, and, subject to certain rules, spread over a period not exceeding 15 years. A sub-tenant is a person who holds land from the tenant of such land, from a *malik-makbuza*, or from the holder of a survey number, or who holds *sir* land as a tenant. He holds on such terms as may be agreed upon between him and his landlord, subject to the proviso that no lease granted to a sub-tenant by an occupancy tenant shall be valid for more than one year, and that he shall have the right of an occupancy tenant if at the time of the sub-letting of the land the letting tenant is a co-sharer in the *mahal* or *patti* in which the land lies and does not hold the land sub-let as an absolute occupancy tenant. In order to overcome the practice prevalent in certain districts by which a proprietor, so as to deprive the real cultivators of the land of the protection given by law to occupancy tenants, interposes between them and himself a middle man as tenant, in any area specially notified a sub-tenant holding land from a tenant may be declared by a Revenue Officer to have all the rights of an occupancy tenant if it is proved to him that such land is habitually sub-let or managed with a view to obtaining land; and similarly in any part of the province a sub-tenant holding land from a *malik-makbuza* who is also a member of the proprietary body of the *mahal* in which such land lies may be declared by a Revenue Officer to have all the rights of an occupancy tenant.

172. (g) *Village-service holdings*.—One class of tenure remains, namely, the village-service holding, which is defined as land held by a village servant rent-free or on favourable terms on condition of rendering village-service. Such a holding on the death, resignation or dismissal of the village servant passes automatically to his successor in office. It is not transferable except by a sub-lease for one year. A village servant may only be ejected on an order of a Revenue Officer on the ground of illegal transfer of his holding, failure to render his due village service or failure to render it properly, diversion of his land to non-agricultural purposes, or resignation or dismissal from office. If at any time the services of a village servant are declared to be no longer required, he is given occupancy rights in his holding at a rent fixed by the Deputy Commissioner or Settlement Officer.

Strength of the different tenures.

173. The table below shows the total acreage in each division and in the whole of the Central Provinces cultivated by proprietors and each class of subordinate holders in 1920-21 :—

Held by			Area in thousands of acres in Divisions.								Total for Central Provinces (thousands of acres.)
			Jubbulpore.	Nerbudda.		Nagpur.		Chhattisgarh.			
				Khalsa.	Jagir.	Khalsa.	Zamindari.	Khalsa.	Zamindari.		
1	Proprietors.	Malguzar (<i>sir</i>) ...	584	556	14	638	177	598	213	2,681	
2		Khudkhasht ...	318	265	7	36	21	527	116	1,490	
3		Malik-makbuza ...	141	233	..	304	12	42	8	741	
4		Wholly or partly revenue-free.	13	29	...	22	...	1	...	65	
5		Total Proprietors ...	1,067	1,084	21	1,198	110	1,169	338	4,977	
6	Subordinate holders.	Absolute occupancy tenants.	506	672	...	641	23	362	2	2,206	
7		Occupancy tenants ...	3,610	3,004	274	3,075	453	2,604	1,694	14,715	
8		Total Tenants ...	4,117	3,676	274	3,716	476	2,966	1,696	16,921	
9		Land held rent-free—									
10		(a) Grant from proprietors.	21	29	...	19	3	30	21	123	
11		(b) Service holdings ...	26	11	1	24	2	20	23	107	
12		Total land held rent-free...	47	40	1	43	5	50	44	230	
		Sub-tenants ...	409	536	6	799	2	50	42	1,778	
		Total (columns 5, 8 and 11).	5,221	5,066		5,548		6,263		23,128	

Survey and Settlement.

174. Before proceeding to describe the present system of survey and settlement, it will be as well to note briefly the present position with regard to the term prescribed for the duration of settlements and with regard to the percentage to be taken as the Government share of the *malguzar's* rental assets. The early British administrators of the various parts of the province at first maintained the Maratha system of short-time settlements, modifying it by extending the term from one year to three or five years, except in Chhattisgarh : this change was maintained in the Nagpur country by Raja Raghuji III on the attainment of his majority. The subsequent course of events throughout the province was almost the same ; the experience gained in this series of short-term settlements led to a long-term settlement, the change being naturally made first in the Saugor-Narbada Territories, where the first long-term settlements were the twenty years settlements effected between 1835 and 1839 ; and for the proprietary settlement proclaimed in those territories in 1854, but postponed owing to the Mutiny, it was the Government's intention to make another twenty years settlement. In other parts of India also long-term settlements had been adopted, the thirty years term in Bombay in 1837, in Madras and the North-Western Provinces in the settlements made between 1833 and 1849 ; the long term had thus become a settled principle of land revenue administration before proposals for the first regular settlement of the Nagpur Province came under consideration. In the meantime the occurrence of the famine of 1860-61 raised the question of the desirability of extending the permanent settlement from Bengal to all India, it being observed that in 1861 the people had offered a far greater resistance to famine than in 1837-38, whence the inference was drawn that this increased power of resistance was due to the introduction of long-term settlements in the interval, and that still further success in this direction would attend a general introduction of permanent settlements. Sir Richard Temple in 1862 actually recommended the permanent settlement of the longest settled parts of the province ; the Government of India, however, did not accept his proposals, but directed in March 1863 that the settlements in progress in the Central Provinces should be made for a term of thirty years, liberty, however, being reserved to revise them at any time after ten years from the beginning of the settlement in order to effect a permanent settlement. This condition was, however, reconsidered, and in 1864 it was finally decided to give effect, as already publicly promised, to the thirty years settlement, but without saying anything about the future grant of a permanent settlement. Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State

Term of Settlement

in 1883 finally rejected the policy of a permanent settlement for Upper India. The proposal to effect a permanent settlement of the Central Provinces had in any case been a remarkable one, in view of the then very high proportion of cultivable but uncultivated to cultivated land, and of the complete absence of means of communication within the province and with the outside world.

175. The period of thirty years fixed for the settlements of the sixties was not adhered to in all cases. The Upper Godavari, Mandla, Nimar, Raipur, and Bilaspur districts and parts of Jubbulpore and Chanda were settled for twenty years, and part of Chanda for thirteen years. Before the first re-settlements were made, the question of the term to be adopted had to be settled. Cultivation had meanwhile increased and could still increase enormously, while the opening up of the country by railways was completely revolutionizing economic conditions. Under these circumstances it was felt that the settlement of the land revenue for a period of more than twenty years must be injurious to the interests of the State. It was, therefore, decided that twenty years should be the standard period, this being modified from district to district so as to ensure that all the new settlements would expire, not at once, but in turn according to a roster as the settlement staff could deal with them. This decision was confirmed by the Secretary of State in 1895, and upheld by the Government of India in its resolution on the Land Revenue Policy of British India, dated January 16th 1902, in which it is laid down that where land is fully cultivated, rents fair, and agricultural production not liable to violent oscillations, it is sufficient if the demands of Government are re-adjusted once in thirty years; but that where the opposite conditions prevail, or where there is a rapid development of resources owing to the construction of roads, railways, or canals, to an increase of population, or to a rise in prices, the postponement of re-settlement for so long a period is both injurious to the people, who are unequal to the strain of a sharp enhancement, and unjust to the general tax-payer, who is temporarily deprived of the additional revenue to which he has a legitimate claim.

Fraction of
assets taken
as revenue.

176. In the first British settlements the custom of previous Governments was followed and the revenue fixed in each village was virtually a competition figure. The twenty years settlements of 1835-38 witnessed the first attempt to lay down principles for the fixation of the revenue; it was then prescribed that a "fair and equal *jama*" was to be fixed; no definite rules for calculating it were laid down, but in practice the assessment was "moderate, leaving a fair average profit on the estate as it then stood, and

allowing the lessee all the further profits which might arise from improved and extended cultivation during the lease". The standard adopted is not stated, but in the North-Western Provinces at the Settlements of 1833 the principle laid down was for the Government to take two-thirds of the net assets or of the rental of the land; and in 1847, for the proprietary settlement recommended for Nimar, it was laid down that the *jama* should be assessed at "two-thirds the present fair average annual rental, *supposing the whole of the lands to be cultivated, or at more than that, supposing a portion of them to be waste and capable of cultivation*". When the grant of proprietary rights in the Saugor-Narbada territories was proclaimed in 1854, one of the rules laid down was that after the extent of the cultivated and cultivable land, the crops, cultivation, soil and various details of agricultural economy had been investigated, the Settlement Officer should fix what he considered to be a fair *jama* with reference to both the *cultivated* and the *cultivable* area. No arithmetical standard was prescribed, but the prevailing rule of the North-Western Provinces, as given in the "Directions to Settlement Officers" published between 1844 and 1848, fixed the maximum Government demand at "Two-thirds of what may be expected to be the net produce *during the period of settlement*". Net produce was defined as the surplus which the estate might yield, deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and the wages of labour, so that in an estate held entirely by cultivating proprietors it would be the profit on their cultivation, but in one held by a non-cultivating proprietor and leased out to cultivators it would be the gross rental.

177. In 1855, however, the Saharanpur Rules were applied to the Saugor-Nerbudda Territories, which reduced the maximum from two-thirds to one-half, it being explained in the rule that with the increased facilities available for accurately estimating the average net assets, an insistence on the two-thirds rule might lead to over-assessment, in that it was clear that two-thirds was too high a proportion of the real average assets for communities or proprietors to pay in a long course of years. The *jama* of each estate was not to be *fixed* at one-half of the net average assets; but in taking these assets, with other data, into consideration, the Collector was to bear in mind that about one-half, and not two-thirds, as theretofore, of the well ascertained net assets was to be the Government demand.

178. For the proprietary settlement of the Nagpur province the Commissioner in 1860 recommended a margin of 30 to 35 per cent of the assets for the *malguzar*, leaving him about 20 per cent

as profit after paying the cost of collection, and up to a margin of 40 per cent in impoverished estates. The Government of India however sanctioned a margin of 40 per cent, and, in some cases up to 50 per cent, of the true gross rental to the *malguzar*, to cover expenses of management and proprietary profits. This divergence from the Saharanpur rule was due partly to the undesirability of departing too abruptly from the prevalent Maratha system, and partly to the great extent of uncultivated land in most parts of the country, whence *malguzars* would be able largely to increase their incomes during the currency of the settlement.

179. The Saharanpur rule must be read in conjunction with the rules which it supplanted, and a correct idea thus obtained of its application to the Central Provinces, before the subsequent settlements are criticized for their severity on the ground that the assessments effected took more than half the assets. The rule, as shown above, applied first to the Saugor-Narbada Territories only. The assets referred to in it were not the assets actually existing at the date of assessment, but the average assets which the village might be expected to yield, regard being paid to both the cultivated and the cultivable land; this is clear from the use of the expression "average assets", which can only refer to prospective assets and not to existing assets, the value of which could have been definitely ascertained, and from the fact that Government's intention as stated in the rule was to reduce the State demand to one-half instead of two-thirds of the average net assets, and thus to modify the old rule which defined the two-thirds as a fraction of "what may be expected to be the net produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement"; the *jama*, moreover, under the old rules of 1854 was to be fixed with reference to both cultivated and cultivable land. Finally the rule was not that an arithmetical standard of one-half of the assets was to be adopted, but that, taking those assets and other data into consideration, the Settlement Officer was to bear in mind that about one-half of the well-ascertained net assets should be the Government demand. It was because his estimate of the assets, thus comprehensively understood, might be above the mark, that it was thought advisable to lower the fraction to be assessed on that estimate. The construction placed on the word 'assets' at the time and for many years later permitted the Settlement Officer to work beyond the actual land rental, and to take into account prospective increase of income, to assume a fair rent for land held by tenants enjoying privileges as against the landlord, to consider the profits of home-farm cultivation (when the land was held entirely by cultivating proprietors) as well as the rental value of home-farm lands.

180. In April 1863 the Officiating Chief Commissioner recommended that the 50 per cent rule should be made applicable to the whole province, there being no justification for a distinction in this matter between the old Saugor-Narbada Territories and the Nagpur Province. The Government of India accepted this recommendation, adding that the 50 per cent taken by Government was not to include cesses. These orders were unfortunately not reprinted in full in the Settlement Code of 1863, but only implied in a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to the Settlement Commissioner, which was printed as a preface to the Code and prescribed the instructions originally issued for the Saugor-Narbada Territories as a "complete Settlement Code" for the Central Provinces. At the same time, however, the original orders of the Government of India, referred to in paragraph 149 above, that at least 40 per cent and in special cases upto 50 per cent of the assets should be left to the Nagpur *malguzars*, were incorporated in the Settlement Code; and though the orders applying the Saharanpur rule of 50 per cent to the Nagpur districts were well-known to and acted upon by the Settlement Officers of the sixties, the incorporation of the original Nagpur orders in the Settlement Code of 1863 misled the officers responsible for the inception of the second round of settlements into believing that the 60 per cent rule, thus originally prescribed in 1860, stood unaltered in fact as it did in the Code of 1863. Though, however, the first Nagpur settlements were conducted on the basis of the 50 per cent rule, there was a very great difference between the meaning then and now attached to the word "assets", and the 50 per cent assessments then fixed, owing to the undeveloped condition of the country, frequently represented a revenue which, on modern principles of calculation of assets, approached or even exceeded 100 per cent.

181. Before the first re-settlements were undertaken, the system of assessment and rent fixation was placed on a new basis, which is summarized below (paragraph 188 *et seq*). The new methods gave the word "asset" a much more definite meaning, a consideration of the actual income derived from the land, and not, as before, its assumed value, being now the guide to revenue assessment. The meaning of assets having thus been greatly modified in the *malguzar's* favour, the question of the proportion of assets to be taken as revenue was considered, and new orders were passed. The assessment was to be based on actual, and not, as under the old rules, on prospective assets. These actual assets were to be ascertained, and to consist of (a) rents as adjusted by the Settlement Officer, (b) a rental valuation of the home-farm and of service-land

effected on the same basis as that of tenant's holdings and (c) a moderate estimate of *siwai* or miscellaneous income, based on the ascertained actuals of the past with a drawback for fluctuations. On these assets 60 per cent was prescribed as ordinarily the maximum percentage to be taken; but where the former percentage was 65 or more, that higher figure might permissibly be taken. The settlements of the nineties were made on these principles. The highest percentage taken was 58.8 in Nagpur. This round of settlements was never put to a fair test, as it was immediately followed by a series of years of scarcity and famine.

182. The question was again fully examined in connection with a resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council, dated January 24th 1911, the terms of which were embodied in the assessment instructions issued to the Settlement Officers, and given effect to at the settlements then in progress. The principle of half the assets was accepted for the districts comprised in the old Saugor-Narbada Territories; for the old Nagpur Province it was laid down that the percentage of assets should at successive settlements be gradually reduced until it reached 50, enhancements in the meantime being limited to half the increase of assets since the preceding settlement, and that assessments of more than 55 per cent should only be sanctioned when the assessment exceeded that figure at the preceding settlement and is undergoing gradual reduction, or when special reasons exist and there would otherwise be a material sacrifice of revenue. A proposal to insert a clause in the Land Revenue Bill of 1917 fixing the percentage at 50 except in specially notified areas was defeated; but in view of the opinion expressed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the main principles of the assessment of land revenue should be embodied in the law, a draft Bill to secure this object is under preparation, for introduction in the provincial legislature.

183. No definite rules are prescribed for the fixation of the actual revenue or *takoli* to be paid by *samindars*, special orders being passed in each case. In general however a *kamil-jama*, or full regular assessment, is calculated on the regular 50 per cent basis; the difference between this and the *takoli* actually fixed for payment represents the concession allowed for the privileged status.

Survey.

184. When the proprietary settlement was proclaimed in 1854, it became essential to ascertain and record the areas and positions of villages and holdings and, in the proclamation, a survey of the whole country was ordered as a preliminary to the settlement enquiries on the model of the system established twenty

years previously in the North-Western Provinces. Consequently, the settlements of 1863 and the following years throughout the province included the making of a field map for every village with the exception, in some districts, of the areas comprised within *zamindari* estates; but the measurements were generally rough and inaccurate, and as the maps were not kept up to date, they had become largely obsolete when the time for re-settlement came round. A survey of village lands by professional agency was effected almost *pari passu* with the original settlement survey, but the two operations were conducted quite independently, and the measurements were plotted on different scales, one being used merely as a check on the other. The field map thus prepared showed each field in its proper position and separately numbered; areas were calculated from it by means of the talc square. In the Saugor-Narbada districts and in Nimar *patwaris* were in existence; the survey was effected largely through their agency and was on the whole well done. In the districts of the old Nagpur Province no such agency existed, and *amins* had to be specially brought from the North-Western Provinces; in these districts the work was inferior and full of errors, owing very largely to the extreme haste with which it was concluded.

185. A complete re-survey was thus necessary for the proper conduct of the second series of settlements, and it was conducted on an improved system. As at the previous settlement the village lands were surveyed professionally as well as by the local *patwaris*, but with this important difference, that the professional survey formed the basis of the field survey, instead of being conducted independently and used merely as a check. The work of the professional surveyors was confined to the determination of convenient points on the village boundary and within the village area by means of the theodolite and chain; that is to say, it was confined to traversing, and did not extend to field survey. A traverse was run along the boundary of each village, with stations about 30 chains apart, and, if the village was a large one, this was supplemented by one or more sub-traverses across the village lands. The boundary of each village was thus determined by a number of fixed points, the distances between which were accurately measured, and the local survey was connected with the triangulation of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey. The survey data thus obtained were recorded in a field-book, and from them traverse plots on a scale of 16 inches to the mile were prepared, thus providing a skeleton map of each village, showing the position of a series of theodolite stations lying round or within the village boundary. Over such fixed traverse

points stone marks were fixed on the ground, to the upkeep of which close attention is devoted, as with their aid and the data recorded in the field-book village boundaries can with ease be maintained or re-demarcated.

186. The local agency employed to fill in interior details on these traverse plots was that of the village *patwaris*, used not as a general district staff, but each man for the survey of the villages in his own circle. The traverse maps were made over to the *patwaris*, who, by chaining from one station to another and across from line to line, plotted in the details of the actual village and field boundaries. The method of survey was precisely that of the professional cadastral survey adopted a few years before in the North-Western Provinces; but instead of all the work, plotting as well as traversing, being performed by professional agency, it was divided into two operations, one of which, that performed with theodolite and chain and requiring accurate angulation, was carried out by professional surveyors, while the other, the field plotting, which is comparatively simple, was effected by *patwaris*. The method by which the important process of area calculation was effected was that followed in professional cadastral surveys, that is, areas are calculated mechanically from maps by planimeter and acre-comb, instead of by the more clumsy fashion of mensuration practised in previous surveys. In the less settled portions of the *zamindaris*, where cultivation was very fluctuating such elaborate survey was impossible and was not attempted; in some places even the traverse was left undone and in others there was a traverse but no internal survey, or only a very rough one. The system, however, remains the standard land survey system of the province, and any isolated areas which require to be surveyed for the first time are surveyed according to it. The duty of keeping the maps up to date by recording the annual changes was also imposed on the *patwari*, whose work is checked by Revenue Inspectors and, above them, by the District Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Land Records; but experience has shown that the ideal of the maps always being correct has not been attained. The task is not easy, and requires constant supervision and careful work, for in every district changes are continually occurring. Steps are now being taken to improve the system of maintenance.

settlement
procedure.
the proprie-
try settle-
ments.

187. The main lines on which the first proprietary settlement was to proceed, as detailed in the proclamation of 1854, have already been summarised. The fact that proprietary rights were to be conferred and the rights of absolute and conditional occupancy tenants to be investigated and recorded at

these thirty years settlements necessitated the laying down of clear instructions. For the general guidance of the Settlement Officer the existing orders were collected in the Settlement Code of 1863, and explained when necessary by circulars. But the code contained no instructions as to principles or methods of land revenue assessment. Executive orders however prescribed certain guides; of these the first was the "soil-rate rent or revenue", obtained by multiplying the cultivated area of each kind of soil in a village by a rent-rate or revenue-rate, which was assumed to represent its real annual rental or revenue value; the scale of soil rates varied considerably in different villages, and generally the first step towards the calculation was to divide villages into groups, or *chaks*, for each of which a different scale was adopted. The second was the "plough revenue", obtained by multiplying the number of ploughs in a village by a figure which was supposed to represent the average annual rental payable by a plough, and taking half the result to represent the revenue; as this multiplier was as a rule obtained merely by dividing the rental of a *chak* by the number of ploughs in it, it worked by applying to a set of circumstances an argument partly based on that set of circumstances, and was therefore in part a case of arguing in a circle; the same criticism applies to the "soil-rates", so far as they were derived from the averages of existing rents. The third guide was the "produce revenue", obtained by taking a share of the annual village produce, as calculated from the area under each crop and its average outturn and value. The fourth guide, the "average incidence of the revenue", was a very rough guide, used to compare the village with the whole *chak*; the revenue proposed for the *chak* was divided by the total cultivated area of the *chak*, the process repeated for each village in the *chak*, and the results compared. The use of these two last guides implied the framing of the *chak* revenue before the village revenue, and thus involved assessment from aggregate to detail on the Maratha system. The fifth and sixth guides were the "existing assets," or the assets as shown in the village papers of the time, and the "supposed or corrected assets" obtained by examining the village papers and raising the rent recorded against the *malguzar's* home-farm or any privileged tenants to a figure justified by competition rents paid in the village. The last guide prescribed was the "present revenue". The use made of these guides was very unequal, many settlement officers openly rejecting most of them as quite useless; the last three were generally found to be the most reliable. The assets on which the assessment was to be based were to be the "real assets," and not merely the "existing assets"; in other words, a village was to be assessed

according to the rent which the proprietor ought to receive if the tenants paid up to the full letting value of the land. It is obvious that such an assessment would often justify a considerable increase in existing rents, and it was therefore provided that, as soon as an assessment was announced, operations should be undertaken for facilitating the "readjustment of rents". An authoritative enhancement of rents by the Settlement Department was forbidden; rents were to be left to "adjust themselves". After announcement of the new rents to the *malguzar* and *raiyats*, they were directed to settle amongst themselves the rental enhancements which could fairly be made; the revised rents as thus decided were recorded by the Settlement Officer. Very little use was made of this procedure and there was little enhancement effected: the matter was left almost entirely to subordinates, and often not carried out till after the Settlement Officer's departure from the district. A partial explanation of this may be found in the fact that over a large part of the province the re-assessment resulted in a decrease of revenue, and that there thus seemed to be little reason for assisting *malguzars* to increase their rents.

The present system.

188. Before the settlements of 1863 and the following years were revised, important changes were made in the principles of assessment. Assets being more strictly defined, as was noted in paragraph 181 above, a system of fixing their amount was devised, based on inductive and deductive methods, and depending ultimately on the detailed classification of land according to capacity of the soil. The new system was set forth in full in the Settlement Code of 1891, and has been the basis of all subsequent settlements. Since 1891, however, many modifications of detail have been and continue to be introduced, especially in the more backward tracts, where many simplifications have been adopted, while the new Land Revenue Act of 1917 necessitated certain changes. The present day procedure is laid down in the Settlement Instructions issued between 1917 and 1920 in supersession of various articles of the Settlement Code of 1891.

Forecast Report.

189. Two years before settlement operations are due to begin in any district, the Settlement Commissioner, in consultation with the Divisional Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner of the district, considers whether there are any reasons which render it desirable that the existing settlement should be extended, and submits a short report on this point for the orders of the Governor in Council. If it is decided that there are *prima facie* grounds for not extending the term of settlement, steps are taken for the preparation of the Forecast Report, usually by the future Settlement Officer, who is

posted to the district about a year in advance of the actual starting of re-settlement; a special clerical staff is also posted there to assist in the collection of the requisite statistics. This report is very brief and contains a general description of the district, its communications and trade, the salient features of the local agriculture, prices, revenue and rental history since last settlement, land values, as indicated by the prices given for land, whether sold or sublet, the condition of *malguzars* and tenants, and the present rental by *tahsils*, with proposals for enhancement; it includes an estimate of revised assets, with the standard percentage proposed to be taken as revenue, an estimate of the probable revenue enhancement, and proposals for the term of settlement. This report is based principally on statistics and does not require detailed local knowledge; the main object, therefore, of posting the future settlement officer to the district a year in advance of settlement is to enable him to obtain full experience of the district in all its aspects, so that there may be no delay in the organisation of his office and field-parties when settlement begins. When the draft forecast report is ready, the criticisms of the public are invited to its proposals, in accordance with the proviso to section 57 of the Land Revenue Act, 1917. A concise resumé of the report is prepared in simple and untechnical language, which, after the provisional assent of the Settlement Commissioner has been secured, is published in the Gazette, while vernacular translations are supplied to any *malguzars* or tenants who apply for them. Copies of the translation are sent to all leading *malguzars*. A meeting of these gentlemen is convened, at which their views on the proposals are considered, proceedings being recorded showing clearly the opinions advanced and the general conclusions arrived at. The report is then modified, if necessary, and forwarded, with a resumé of the objections received and a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, for the orders of the Governor in Council.

190. The district or local area concerned is then declared by notification to be under settlement. The duty of maintaining the land records and maps is transferred to the Settlement Officer. The assessment, it will be remembered, is calculated with reference to the assets of each village, which include the rents payable by tenants, the rental valuation of the home-farm lands and lands held by village servants or dependents of the landlord, and the landlord's *siwai* income; of these the two former are calculated on precisely the same basis. Two sets of considerations arise, inductive considerations, based on a careful examination and comparison of the rents paid by different classes of tenants over a large tract of country, and deductive considerations obtained, for example, by

Soil
classification.

contrasting the enhancement of rents justified by the rise of local prices with the actual rise that has occurred, as shown by the average incidence of rent per acre at the previous settlement and at present. The regular method of contrasting the pressure of different rents is to compare the rate per acre at which they fall on the land, but this can only be reliable when the different parcels of land are of precisely similar value. This is very rarely the case, and hence acreage rates are seldom of use except when they concern large areas of land over which differences in individual holdings would cancel out. A scheme had therefore to be devised in order to bring the relative values of land containing different kinds of soil on to one basis. The most important consideration in determining the rent that should be paid on any holding is obviously the nature of the land which it contains, that is to say, the soils and the advantages or disadvantages arising from the lie of its surface. A systematic classification of the land included in holdings is thus essential before rents can be fixed; and when this has been made it remains to determine the value of each holding, which depends on the value to be attached to an acre of each class of land recognised. The cultivators themselves recognise that the depth and quality of the soil are the primary considerations in determining the value of the land, and have given local names to the more important classes of soil, which they use whenever they divide a holding or have to consider the rent to be paid on new land taken up for cultivation. They also recognise and have their own names for differences in productivity due to the position of land, that is to say, the lie of its surface, irrigation by flow or lift, embankments, and similar features. Land on a slope is liable to scouring; land near jungle requires careful watching to protect crops from wild animals; a field receives manure from its proximity to the village site, or additional moisture from lying in a hollow; and there are local names to describe these advantages. Again, cultivators often take into account the extra labour involved in the cultivation of fields remote from the village site, and divide the village lands into zones or *pattis* according to their distance from the village site, to each of which a different value is assigned. The scheme of classification adopted at settlement should therefore recognise as its three main features the nature of the soil, its advantages or disadvantages of position, both natural and artificial, and its situation in the village: it is the basis of all field work with regard to occupied land, and must be prepared at a very early stage of the proceedings. In general an elaborate classification is not required, but one from which a valuation of the land may be effected accurately enough to enable the Settlement Officer to fix rents which are fair one with another. Where the pitch of rents

is low, it will generally be found that a simple system will suffice, and that the higher the pitch of rents, the greater the differentiation needed to gauge the pressure of existing rents in order to work out a fair scheme for their enhancement. The work is now considerably simplified by the fact that, as the third round of settlements is in progress, the Settlement Officer, who is generally new to the district, has the benefit of the experience of two previous settlements at each of which the soil was classified on a detailed scheme. It will usually be found that few changes are required, unless, for example, at the previous settlement a soil class was valued high on account of its fitness to produce a crop which has since declined in commercial importance: this practice of classing soil according to the kind of crops which it produces has now been abandoned except in the case of rice and garden crops.

191. While the scheme is under consideration the Settlement Commissioner tours in the district with the Settlement Officer to give him the advantage of his experience and advice. *Malguzars* and cultivators are freely consulted, and, when the scheme is ready, the Settlement Officer convenes a committee of leading cultivators, both *malguzars* and tenants, at which he discusses it and explains any important deviations from their own local methods. It is then finally settled and submitted for the sanction of the Settlement Commissioner, who forwards a copy, with the orders that he has passed on it, for the information of the Governor in Council.

192. At every settlement there is prepared for each *mahal* Attestation. and for each estate a record-of-rights. The *mahal* record-of-rights, under Section 45 (2) of the Land Revenue Act, consists of (a) a *khewat* or statement of persons possessing proprietary rights in the mahal, including inferior proprietors, lessees, or mortgagees in possession, specifying the nature and extent of the interest of each; (b) a *khasra* or field-book, in which are entered the names of all persons cultivating or occupying land, the right in which it is held, and the rent, if any, payable; (c) a *jamabandi* or list of persons cultivating or occupying land in the village; (d) a field-map of the village; (e) a *wajib-ul-arz* or village administration paper, in which are recorded agreements between the proprietary body as to the way in which the village shall be managed and its profits divided, any communal rights of the tenants to produce of waste land, grazing, house-sites, irrigation, rights-of-way, etc., and all village cesses leviable according to custom, and other miscellaneous matters; and (f) any other papers that may be prescribed from time to time. Special

importance attaches to the preparation of these papers, as under Section 80 of the Land Revenue Act they obtain, unless challenged within one year of their completion, evidential value in respect of title and communal rights, and also form the basis on which rests the fixation and revision of tenancy rents and Government revenue. In the case of the *jamabandi* only columns 1—10 form part of the record-of-rights, the other columns showing the rents or rental valuations fixed by the Settlement Officer and the manner in which they are calculated. These papers, with the exception of the *wajib-ul-arz*, are carefully prepared beforehand by the district Land Record staff, and checked in detail by the additional Revenue Inspectors posted to the district for that purpose. This staff works in parties, each directly supervised by an Assistant Settlement Officer, who attests the records when completed: the records however are not finally passed until the Settlement Officer has made any necessary corrections or additions and passed them as complete and accurate. On certain matters which affect the record-of-rights, such as the extent of *sir* or *khudkhasht* land, the area of the village site or *abadi*, disputes as to claims affecting proprietary rights, *malik-makbuza* status, *sir* and *khudkasht* lands, tenancy rights, or *abadis*, and claims to hold land revenue-free against Government or rent-free against the *malguzar*, orders must under the Land Revenue Act be passed by the Settlement Officer; the Assistant Settlement Officer at attestation reports on these matters, and final orders are passed by the Settlement Officer at his inspection of the village. For the *wajib-ul-arz* a careful list of the subject-matter with which it is to deal is prepared by the Settlement Officer, and, after full explanation, handed over to the attesting Inspectors and Assistant Settlement Officers, who after enquiry in each village fill in its contents in the form of a village *wajib-ul-arz* note. At his village inspection the Settlement Officer carefully checks this note, and records orders on the basis of which the final *wajib-ul-arz* is prepared. It receives its final form at announcement, when it is read over to assembled tenants and *malguzars*, and, after the settlement of disputes that may arise by the Settlement Officer, finally signed by the announcing officer.

193. Other papers compiled at attestation consist of certain statistical statements prepared from the attested annual papers above, and various lists, for example, of sub-tenants with their payments, of new tenants, who have obtained their holdings since the last settlement, and their rents, of premia paid for tenancy land and consent money for transfers, and the *fard mazarian*, a consolidated statement showing against the name of each shareholder and tenant the area and rent of land held by him in other villages, the number of

plough and other cattle possessed by him, and his financial circumstances, and classifying the tenants in five groups according to their circumstances. All these papers are designed to assist the Settlement Officer to form a comprehensive mind-picture of the economic conditions of a village before deciding on its rental treatment.

194. Finally, to the attestation party is entrusted the application in the field of the sanctioned scheme of soil classification. All the cultivable land is classed by the Revenue Inspector, the cultivated and old fallow arrears being shown separately, in a *fard zamin* or soils statement, and the location of the different soils is marked on the map to facilitate reference. This classification is checked in detail by the attesting officer, the advice of the actual cultivators of the village being taken freely both at the preparation and the check of the *fard zamin*, and representative cultivators who have been present throughout the proceedings being invited to sign the statement when it is finally passed by the Assistant Settlement Officer. He completes the papers of the village by writing a note summarizing for the information of the Settlement Officer all matters affecting the question of rent and revenue revision.

Application of the scheme of soil classification in the field.

195. In revising the rental demand of a village it was seen that it is first necessary to compare its pressure with the pressure in other villages. Soil classification, the first stage in this process, has already been described. The next stage is the allotment to each of the soils of a figure or "factor" to show its value in relation to other soils, whence a comparison of the relative value in figures of the lands of each village becomes possible; and in practice an acre of land is usually said to contain as many "soil units" as the number selected as its factor. Thus, in the case of three soils, *A* fertile, *B* medium and *C* poor, for which the factors taken are 32, 16 and 4, an acre of *A* might be said to contain 32 soil units, an acre of *B* 16 soil units, and an acre of *C* 4 soil units. The soil unit might thus be defined as the "unit of relative value of different classes of land"; and the whole 410 acres in a village with 150 acres of *A* soil, 100 acres of *B*, and 160 acres of *C* can be described as containing 7,046 soil units. As it is convenient to have a term to represent the amount of the rent of the area under consideration that falls to each soil unit in that area, the expression "unit incidence" is used to denote this. Thus, if the village above had a rental of Rs. 440, the unit incidence, which is calculated to two places of decimals in annas, would be $440 \times 16 \div 7,040$, or 1.00 annas. The unit incidence, then, indicates for comparative purposes the rental pressure within the area under consideration. The rate per acre for each class of soil will be the unit incidence multiplied

Soil factors.

by the factor of that class of soil, and the rent of a holding expressed in annas will be the total number of soil units in it multiplied by its unit incidence. On this basis if the unit incidence is calculated of two holdings in the same village, or of two villages, to which the same system of soil classification and scale of factors apply, it is possible to compare the rents of the holdings or of the average rents of the villages, and to decide which holding or village is rented comparatively high or low. But for villages the Settlement Officer cannot rely on these figures alone; the market value of the same kind of land in one village may be higher than in another, owing for example to its closer proximity to a railway or good market, its better communications, its greater distance from a jungle rendering its crops less liable to the ravages of wild animals, or its comparative immunity from drought; before therefore he can decide that the rents in a village with a larger unit incidence press more heavily on the tenants than those in a village with a lower unit incidence, he must know whether circumstances make land more valuable in one than the other.

196. To facilitate the making of this comparison between villages, the *tahsil* is divided into groups of from 60 to 80 adjacent and more or less homogeneous villages. Such groups were formed at all past settlements, and changes, which impede a detailed comparison of the proposals with those of the last settlement, are made only when necessitated by reasons such as the alteration since the settlement of district or *tahsil* boundaries or the spread of roads or railways. Proposals for the formation of groups are submitted for the approval of the Settlement Commissioner, who submits his orders thereon to the Governor in Council.

197. The preparation of the scale of soil factors, like that of the scheme of soil classification, occupies the attention of the Settlement Officer from the time that he is posted to the district to prepare the forecast. Its submission for sanction is delayed until later in the season than the submission of the report on the classes of soil, so as to give the Settlement Officer more time for local enquiry. The scheme when ready is discussed with a committee of leading cultivators, sanctioned by the Settlement Commissioner, and submitted for information to the Governor in Council. In his selection of the scale of factors, the Settlement Officer is guided by the following considerations. The value of an acre of any class of land depends on the average price obtained for the crops produced over a period of years, less the cost of production. During the first year of his work, therefore, one of his chief duties is to make a large number of experimental cuttings and weighings of

the crops of fixed areas in selected fields, a comparison of the results of which will assist him in determining the gross outturn per acre of the principal crops grown in each class of soil. He further investigates the selling prices of the various district crops, and thus obtains a rough guide to the gross value per acre of the produce of each class of soil. By careful enquiries into the costs of cultivation of different crops and soils, he forms some estimate of the net profits of cultivation of each class of soil, and thus gains an indication of the relative values of the different classes of soil. This calculation is, however, very rough, and is useful only in checking the statements of actual cultivators, who after all are the best judges of the relative value of each class of soil. The question is therefore discussed whenever possible with intelligent *malguzars* and tenants, who, though they may be unable to give absolute values, can generally say of equal plots of land of given soils that if one is worth 16 annas the second is worth 10. On these lines a provisional scale is formed early in the work, which the Settlement Officer constantly tests in the light of experience gained at his inspections, until he becomes gradually qualified to frame a final scale, always, however, remembering that a scale of factors was framed and used at the previous settlement, and that the same objections apply to a change of this scale as to a change in the classing of land.

198. As soon as possible after attestation, the Settlement Officer himself visits and inspects the villages, checking the work of the attesting officers and passing orders on the matters which fall within his own competence. As soon as he has inspected a village, the papers (attestation files) are sent into office, where they are checked and copied, the appropriate factors are applied and the unit-value of each field and holding and of the total tenant land of the village and group determined. By dividing the existing rental by the total number of soil-units, the unit-incidences of holdings, tenures, villages, and groups are obtained. The Settlement Officer has now to consider the estimate of enhancement contained in the Forecast Report, and to decide how far that estimate needs modification in each tract; this decision he bases on a detailed knowledge of the conditions of villages throughout a *tahsil*, gained by frequent inspections, which enables him to place the various groups in an order of economic merit, and to frame an estimate of the extent to which rents may be enhanced in each group. By raising the existing group unit incidence by the percentage of enhancement thus estimated, he obtains a standard "unit-rate" for the group. With this standard to guide him, he now on similar lines frames village unit-rates for each village in the group, having learnt from his detailed inspections

which villages are above and which below the general average of the group. By multiplying this village unit rate by the factors for each class of soil, he obtains acreage rates with which to compare existing rents.

uced
3.

199. Having determined the acreage rates for each class of soil in the village, the Settlement Officer applies these rates to the area of each class of soil in each holding, and thus obtains a rent, known as the "deduced rent," based on the average rates of the village enhanced to the extent which he has decided to be suitable for the village. The rent so calculated cannot, however, be adopted without change for each holding, since all rents in the village are not at the same uniform pitch; some rents are much above and some much below the deduced rents. If the rent is already above the deduced rent, and is paid with ease, there is no reason to reduce it, while if it is much below, enhancement to the deduced rent might seriously embarrass the tenant by the sudden reduction in his income. Again, deductions are made from the deduced rent to allow for improvements effected by the tenant, and are also permissible for the holdings of privileged tenants where sub-rents rule high. Using the deduced rent therefore as a guide, the Settlement Officer fixes the rent of each holding on a consideration of the existing rent and all the other circumstances of the holding and of the tenant. The rents so fixed are, however, tentative only, for the village rates require the sanction of the Governor in Council before the rents are finally fixed, and the individual rents based upon the sanctioned rates are not made final until the tenants and *malguzar* have had an opportunity at announcement of urging any circumstances which point to a reconsideration of the amount. It is in the fixation of rents that the Settlement Officer makes use of the *fard mazarian* and other papers prepared at attestation, the *fard mazarian* being of especial importance, as it gives a conspectus of all the holdings held by the same tenant in different villages and thus helps the Settlement Officer to avoid the mistakes which he might make if he fixed his rent for one holding on considerations affecting only the village in which that holding is situated. The actual calculation of rents by multiplication of soil areas by acreage rates is carried out in office by a double working, one calculation being made usually on the *fard zamin* and the other on the sheet attached to the attestation *jamabandi*, on to which the acreages of the soils of each holding are copied from the *fard zamin*, the one working being used to check the other. Absolute-occupancy tenants receive special consideration, in view of the antiquity of their tenure; and similarly the payments of *malik-makbuzas*, which are

fixed in the same manner as the rents of tenants, are always below the deduced rent, to allow for the privileged nature of the tenure and the payment of cesses. The pitch of the revised *malik-makbusa* payments is generally about 15 per cent lower than that of the revised tenancy rents.

200. *Siwai* income comprises the miscellaneous receipts other than rents and home-farm profits accruing to the *malguzar*, *e.g.*, from fisheries, river-bed and tank cultivation, from the produce of fruit-bearing trees, and from bamboos, firewood, grazing, grass, lac, minor forest produce, and minor minerals not reserved by Government. The enquiry into the amount of this income is difficult: receipts vary annually with fluctuations in outturn and in cash prices; very few *malguzars* keep regular accounts of them or are willing to produce them; and often such receipts are regarded as perquisites by the *malguzar's* servants and never find their way to him. The basis of enquiries at settlement is the record made annually by the *patwari* at the end of his *jamabandi* of the estimated *siwai* income of the year. At settlement careful instructions have to be issued as to the lines on which the *siwai* enquiries are to proceed, which are entrusted to Revenue Inspectors or higher land records officers; they draw up a note stating the gross *siwai* income, whether it is drawn from legitimate sources, and the expenses incurred by *malguzars* in the management of their waste. At attestation this information is carefully verified by the Assistant Settlement Officer; and is open to the *malguzar's* inspection. The Settlement Officer at his inspection checks the note and passes orders as to the amount of *siwai* income to be provisionally included in the village assets. The *siwai* note, as finally passed by the Settlement Officer, is explained to the *malguzar*, and his objections are recorded, his signature being taken if he accepts the estimate. A copy of the note when completed is attached to the village note which accompanies the group rent-rate and assessment report.

201. When the Settlement Officer has worked out his proposals for all the villages in the group, he submits a report giving the results for the group and separate statements showing the proposals for each village for the approval of the Governor in Council. This report deals concisely with the agricultural, economic and general conditions of the group, gives a full estimate of the revised village assets, and of the effect on revenue and rents of the proposals, the percentage of assets to be taken as revenue being fixed in accordance with the rules outlined in paragraph 181 above, and proposals being made for deferred enhancement in cases where he considers that the immediate enforcement of the full enhancement will result in undue hardship.

Announce-
ment.

202. When these proposals have been revised, where necessary, in accordance with the orders of the Governor in Council, the rents and revenues are announced to the tenants and *malguzars*. One of the chief objects of the announcement procedure is to give the parties concerned an opportunity of putting forward any objections which they may have to urge against the proposals, and, until they have been announced, rents remain provisional. A proclamation is issued well in advance of the time and place of announcement, which states that the *malguzar* may inspect and criticise the proposed new rents on the two days preceding announcement. Announcement is made by an Assistant Settlement Officer, who, however, unless specially empowered to fix rents, must refer any proposed change in the provisional rents to the Settlement Officer, who is close at hand. The acreage rates for the village are first explained to the *malguzar* and tenants, and then the method of their application to a few typical holdings. The rents of holdings are then announced *seriatim*, any objections being sent to the Settlement Officer for disposal; when no objection is raised, the Announcing Officer enters the rents fixed against the holdings in the list of rents, and has them entered in the rental *parchas*, or copies of the Settlement Officer's order of rent fixation under the Tenancy Act, and the *parchas* sealed, dated, stamped with his signature, and delivered to the tenants or their representatives, other than the *malguzar*. Certificates for exemptions on account of improvements are issued along with the *parchas*. At the same time the new record-of-rights is announced, which is the record as finally attested by the Attesting Officer and passed by the Settlement Officer at his inspection of the village, changes that may have taken place between attestation and announcement being left to be entered in the annual papers, except in the case of any change of *lambardars*, which must be entered in the *khewat* so that the latter may agree with the *kabuliyat* or acceptance of assessment signed by the *lambardars*: the *wajib-ul-arz* is read out clause by clause, dated and signed by the Announcing Officer. Either on the same day, or shortly afterwards, the announcement is similarly made of the revenue assessed on *malguzars* and *malik-makbuzas*, a *kabuliyat* being taken from all *malguzars* and *malik-makbuzas*, which, in the case of those who hold partially or wholly revenue-free, shows the amount actually payable and the full revenue assessment, or *kamil-jama*, which would be payable if the revenue-grant were resumed by Government. Over and above the land revenue paid by proprietors of estates, *mahals*, or *malik-makbuzas* plots, or by holders of survey numbers in *raiayatwari* villages, Government takes a consolidated cess of 54 per cent on the revenue calculated in the case

of revenue-free grants, on the *kamil-jama*, and in that of *malguzars*, only on the revenue so far as it is assessed on *malguzari* assets, the portion contributed by *malik-makbuza* payments being omitted. The proceeds of these cesses are utilized within the province for local objects: the amount payable on their account is entered in the *kabuliyats*. Under the new Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act of 1920, the rate of this cess is raised to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent and its proceeds are handed over to District Councils for expenditure on any purpose of the Act; power is also given to District Councils under certain conditions and with the sanction of the Local Government, to impose an additional cess for the same objects at a rate not exceeding $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on the land revenue or *kamil-jama* assessed on any estate or *mahal*, excluding *malik-makbuza* plots. The assessment of a *mahal* is offered to the proprietor, or if there are two or more proprietors, to the *lambardar*, or, if the *mahal* is imperfectly partitioned, to the *lambardars* of the *pattis*, unless the Settlement Officer decides, in the two latter cases, to offer it to all the proprietors. The revenue assessed on a *mahal* includes the assessments on *malik-makbuza* plots within the *mahal*, the *malguzar* being allowed a drawback of not more than 20 per cent of the land revenue thus payable through him.

- The *mahal kabuliyat* binds the *lambardar* to collect and pay to Government the new assessment and the revenue of any *muafi* grants which may be resumed during settlement, and, in the case of imperfectly partitioned *mahals*, is signed by the *lambardars* of each *patti*, as well as by the *sadar* or chief *lambardar* through whom the former pay their share of the *mahal* assessment. Special provisions are laid down in the Land Revenue Act as to the procedure to be adopted if a proprietor declines to accept his assessment.

203. When the settlements of all the groups in a *tahsil* have been announced, a *tahsil* assessment report is submitted through the Settlement Commissioner to the Governor in Council. This summarises the whole course of settlement proceedings, justifies the various enhancements, and explains divergencies between the final result and the forecast. Similarly when the settlements of all the *tahsils* have been announced, a final report for the whole district is submitted, in order that the new settlement may be confirmed by the Governor in Council. The abolition of the *tahsil* Assessment Report is under consideration.

204. The village settlement record, as finally prepared, contains, in addition to the record-of-rights as described above, certain statistical statements compiled therefrom, and, in columns 11 to 16 of the *jamabandi*, a list of rents fixed under the Tenancy Acts

The Settlement Record,

with their working from the acreage rates, and the *kabuliyats*. One copy of this record is filed in the district record-room, and a second is left with the village *patwari*. The cadre of *patwaris* and of *kotwars* (village watchmen) is also revised. The register of revenue-free grants, in which are entered all remissions of revenue granted at settlement for large improvements effected by *mal-guzars*, is re-written, and a new *kistbandi* or revenue-roll showing the revised Government demand for each village is made over to the Deputy Commissioner. When all these duties have been performed and all the various reports submitted and orders received on them, the settlement operations are brought to a close.

simplified
procedure in
backward
tracts.

205. A feature common to all backward tracts is that rents are nominal either in pitch or in amount or in both, whether owing to a small demand for land, to primitive standards of agriculture, to sparsity of population, to unsettled occupation and cultivation, or, in some areas, to the fact that extremely low rents were fixed at past settlements before the extension of the cultivation of commercial crops on light soils had greatly increased the value of and demand for such soils. In such areas the regular settlement procedure only yields a small increase in rents and revenues quite disproportionate to the expense and trouble involved. A simplified system has therefore been introduced with the twofold object of reducing expense to the state and trouble to the people. Details of procedure differ according to the circumstances of the tract that is being dealt with, but the following method has been tried with success in parts of two districts. Proceeding on the fact that in such areas a sudden enhancement of rents to the full extent, which, under the ordinary system, the productivity of the soil in each holding would allow, must unsettle the people and may lead to the abandonment of existing cultivation, the simplified system adopts a very simple soil classification, based not so much on detailed calculations of the productivity of the land, as on its existing rent and the extent of the demand for similar land. In such tracts fields, which on account of their soil would be highly valued in the open country, are little valued owing to want of cattle, to excessive liability to damage from wild animals, or to similar reasons. The system of soil classing having been fixed, attestation proceeds as usual. The Settlement Officer inspects some 80 per cent of the villages in the group and considers how far the enhancement proposed for the whole *tahsil* in the Forecast Report should be varied to suit the circumstances of the particular group and its present rental pressure. Having decided on the enhancement for the group he next estimates the pressure of the present rental per new soil class, and thus fixes a group acre-rate for each

soil class. Proceeding from village to village, he fixes modified rates for each village according to local conditions, and sends intimation of the new rates, with the village papers, to a selected Assistant Settlement Officer, who is located at a convenient centre with a small statistical staff. The latter proposes rents on the assessment *jamabandis* and sends them for approval to the Settlement Officer, who meantime is fixing acre rates for other villages. When rent fixation has been completed, and rental certificates written for the whole group, the Settlement Officer joins camp with his Assistant and announces rents then and there, deciding all objections; but stating that these rents are subject to revision by the Settlement Commissioner or the Governor in Council. *Siwai* enquiries and the *wajib-ul-arz* note are completed *pari passu* with inspection and rental announcement, when also the *kotwar's* remuneration is fixed and announced. At the close of the field season the action taken with regard to the rents of each group, and proposals for the revision of revenue, are submitted in the form of a combined report; and on receipt of orders, the sanctioned revenue and the *kotwar's* register are announced at convenient centres, before the beginning of the next field season. This system avoids the detailed calculation of unit rates for each village, and renders it possible to bring the work of attestation, inspection, fixation of rents and announcement in the villages of a group within a single field season.

BERAR.

206. The Muhammadan rulers of Berar never divided their territories into feuds, although they assigned certain portions on service tenure; they dealt directly with the cultivators and drew from them a heavy land-tax. A feature of the Muhammadan system was the existence of hereditary collecting officials, the *patel* for the village, and the *deshmukh* for the *pargana*, aided by a *patwari* or village accountant, and a *deshpandia* or *pargana* accountant, all of whom claimed to hold their offices and emoluments in *watan* or hereditary right. The offices themselves were probably of pre-Muhammadan origin. But the successive governments of Berar were always strong enough to prevent the interception of the land-tax by these officials or other middlemen; and *patels* and *deshmukhs* in Berar never transmuted themselves into proprietors of the land. Consequently the start of English rule in Berar in 1853 found the village communities, with their staff of servants and their hereditary *patel*, cultivating the lands which from time immemorial had belonged to each township, upon no other tenure than that which usually permitted a man to keep possession of his fields so long as he paid to Government the customary rent.

Land
tenures
in Berar;
historical
sketch.

207. Berar was ceded to the Emperor Akbar in 1596, and, like Nimar, came under the famous *tankha-bandi* system of Akbar's minister, Raja Todar Mal. Previous settlements had been unaccompanied by survey or measurement, the land revenue exacted being a mere levy of a share of grain. The Moghals first set the land revenue administration on a business-like footing, with a regularly assessed cash revenue, based on cash rates fixed, where possible, for a period of years, instead of being liable to annual alteration, and supported by a uniform system of cash accounts. Arable lands were measured, and their produce carefully estimated. The unit of land for purposes of assessment was a *bigha*, or rather more than two-thirds of an acre. Each *bigha* was rated at the value of one quarter of its estimated produce; and the total demand thus calculated on a village or *pargana* was its *tankha* or standard rent roll, lands which were barren or never cultivated being omitted from this rating. The average rate per *bigha* was Rs. 1-4-0. Soil was classified according to its qualities into three main classes, each divided into two sub-classes, garden soil having only two main classes. Each sub-class had a general average rate per *bigha* assessed upon it, which varied only slightly according to local circumstances. The [next] important settlement in Berar was that made by the Abyssinian Malik Ambar (*vide* paragraph 40 above), who ruled in the Deccan and Khandesh in the name of the Nizam Shahi Kings in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. His settlement traditionally left a great mark on the province, but information about it is vague. His assessments probably varied with the crop and were not fixed like the Mughal settlements; in some cases they were lump assessments on the village. According to Grant Duff the assessment, when paid in kind, was two-thirds, and, when paid in cash, was equivalent in value to one-third of the produce. Malik Ambar is also credited with having settled the land revenue upon the basis of recognition of private property in the land, whereas Akbar held that all land belonged to the state. Writing in the Berar Gazetteer of 1870, Sir A. Lyall estimates that the revenue raised in Berar in the seventeenth century was much larger than that paid under the original settlements made after the cession, and that the cultivated area was not less; and points out the mistaken nature of the common view that the state in which the English found India at the time of conquest was its normal state, the truth being that each province successively fell into English hands when and because it was at the lowest ebb of its fortunes after a dark century of anarchy, and that the measures introduced after conquest represented not a new and original system but a reconstruction upon old foundations.

208. The Maratha connection with Berar originated with the grant of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* by the Delhi Emperor in 1717 (*vide* Part III, paragraph 46). The Marathas pretended to keep regular accounts with the Nizam's officers, who were never openly ejected from their posts, though they were often set aside for a time. Districts were called *do amlī*; that is, jointly administered; and in all the revenue papers the collections are divided, the Maratha share being usually 60 per cent. Of this, 10 per cent was called *sardeshmukhi*, and the rest *mokasa*, which in Berar seems to have been a technical term that included in a lump sum all the Maratha dues except the *sardeshmukhi*. The *mokasa* was made up half of *chauth*, or 25 per cent of the total revenue, and half of *faujdar's* allowance for district administration. The period was one of bare-faced plunder and fleecing without attempt at principle or stability. Whenever the Nizam appointed a collector, the Marathas appointed another; both claimed the revenue, while foragers from each side exacted forced contributions, so that the *raiya*t in despair often abandoned his land and helped to plunder his neighbours.

Period of
Double
Government
(Do Amlī),
Maratha
and
Nizam, A. D.
1720—1803.

209. The ordinary tenure from time immemorial had been that which permitted a man to keep possession of his fields so long as he paid to Government the customary rent. Whatever rights of private property in their land Malik Ambar may actually have given the *raiya*ts, they cannot long have survived the anarchy which followed his death. It may be supposed that where the *raiya*ts managed to keep land for any long time in one family they acquired a sort of property adverse to all except the government, but that where the land frequently changed hands through the diverse events of an unsettled age, occupancy can never have crystallized into proprietary rights. Good land was carefully preserved, bad land often thrown up; failure of crops or the exactions of farmers severed many holdings; and all rights ceased with continuity of possession. But in theory the general basis and limit of property in land perhaps remained cultivating occupancy, undisturbed, except by violence or injustice, so long as the traditional standing rates of assessment were paid upon the fields taken up. Various special rights naturally arose out of this kind of holding, such as the old *mirasi* and *mundkari* rights belonging to occupants whose possession of their land was long established and hereditary; their precise privileges were never closely defined, but it would seem that their holdings were heritable and transferable, and that they had the right to trees and the privilege of paying a fixed sum without regard to the area cultivated. Again, certain advantageous tenures were created by

Original
land
tenures; by
cultivation
occupancy.

expedients used to revive cultivation in deserted tracts ; long leases were given on a slowly advancing rent, or a whole ruined village was made over by *palampat*, which fixed the rental of the entire estates without taking account of the spread of cultivation. Whatever right in the land may have grown up previously, they all disappeared under the government of the Nizam and the Marathas. Under this régime cultivators held their fields on a yearly lease made out for them by the *patel* at the beginning of each season ; the land was acknowledged to belong to the state, and in general no absolute right to hold any particular field, except by yearly permission of the officials was urged or allowed. Official authorization was also generally necessary to transfer or surrender. Cultivators were ejected from their holdings, and others put in their places, as it suited the caprice or interest of the farmer of the revenue.

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due
als.

210. The *patels*, *patwaris*, *deshmukhs*, and *deshpandias* never got beyond hereditary office. The *patel* and his co-adjutor the *patwari* always remained the agents between the state and the *raiya*s for village cultivation and collections. The *deshmukhs* and *deshpandias* rose to great local importance under Muhammadan rule : in virtue of their office they held the right to take certain dues from the revenue collections of their *parganas*, and the more powerful of them received large grants of land in *jagir* and patents for the collection of additional subsidies, on condition of military or police service and the maintenance of order. During the decline of Moghal power in Berar they sometimes obtained their *parganas* in farm, and some were probably fast developing into the status of the *taluqdars* and *samindars* of Upper India. But the Nizam and the Marathas were too powerful to let any subjects stand between them and the full demand, and in 1853 it was decided that though these officials had frequently, beside their money dues, much *inam* or revenue-free land, and they themselves advanced the most extravagant pretensions, their real position was that of hereditary officers and not that of landed proprietors. The *patel* and *patwari* were paid by rent-free land, money dues, and dignities, their hereditary privileges as a whole being called their "*watan*." The office of *patel* was and is a most precious family possession, the land attached to it being the patrimony of the family, which shares all profits and privileges according to the law of succession. To anticipate somewhat, on the assignment, the hereditary *patels* and *patwaris* were retained, their duties and emoluments being regulated by the Berar Patels and Patwaris Law of 1900, which represents an amended combination of various Government of India notifications issued since the assignment. They are now paid by fixed percentages on the

collection of land revenue, and their *watan* lands are assessed like any other lands. The *deshmukhs* and *deshpandias*, on the other hand, were discontinued as revenue officials, as the British system of collection took no account of the *pargana*; they were however retained in a position of nominal dignity in order that Government might have the advantage of their traditional and local knowledge and influence, and employ them as a channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled: and they continue to enjoy emoluments in the form of *rusums* under the Pensions Act based on fixed percentages of the land revenue of their *parganas*.

211. There were also in Berar various tenures of land by grant of the sovereign power, with no essential difference from similar estates in other parts of India. The *jagir* of Berar appears to have been originally an assignment of revenue for military service and the maintenance of order in certain districts; in later times the grant was occasionally made to civil officers for the maintenance of due state and dignity. The interest of the grantee did not ordinarily extend beyond his own life, and the *jagir* even determined at the sovereign's pleasure, or on failure to render the service for which it was bestowed. But some of these grants which were assigned to powerful families acquired an hereditary character. Except for one or two which were granted by the Peshwas, all the pre-British *jagirs* were granted either by the Delhi Emperor or the Nizam. *Jagirs* were also given for religious and charitable objects, such as the support of temples, mosques or other public institutions, conditionally upon the rendering of due service therein. The term *inam* applies to grants of plots of land held wholly or partially rent-free in *khalsa* villages, just as *jagir* applies to whole villages so granted. *Inams* were granted mainly for religious and charitable objects, but often as purely personal favours by the Moghal and Maratha rulers; such personal grants were for example freely given by the Peshwa to Brahmans and *pandits* in the Umarched *pargana* of Yeotmal. The last class of special tenure to be noted is the *palampat* tenure, originally one under which villages were made over at a fixed rental for a number of years, no account being taken of the subsequent spread of cultivation; it thus resembled the modern *izara* tenure (paragraph 225 *infra*). The tenure probably lost its original character, and became more often than not an honorific grant for the support of personal dignity. Tenure by grant.

212. When in 1803 the Nizam was placed in sole possession of Berar by the British Government, the revenue administration went from bad to worse. The system was introduced of farming out the land to contractors, who adhered to no rates, but squeezed what they could out of the *raiya*'s crops and his goods and The rule of the Nizam, 1803-1853.

chattels. Yearly leases and rack-renting became commoner than ever; a *raiyat* who had spent money and labour on his fields sold them to the highest bidder; and whole *talugs* and *parganas* were let and sub-let to speculators for sums far above the standard assessment. Raja Chandulal, who was minister of Hyderabad from 1820 to 1840, held regular auction sales of the land revenue of certain tracts, and is said to have disposed of the same contracts simultaneously to several different buyers, without respect to the results of the auctions. The only fortunate purchaser was he who could also purchase the support of the *pargana* officials who sometimes even kept a roster of purchasers, allowing each a turn at the collections. A trace, however, of an older tenure possibly in some way approaching a modified proprietary right persisted in the larger townships in the form of divisions of family or tribe corresponding with internal divisions of the land known as *dimats* and *khels*, each such family possessing certain ancestral rights and privileges, and furnishing the hereditary *patel* and *patwar* for its *khel* or sub-division. This is possibly a survival of rights granted to the original founders of the village, or to persons who revived it when decayed or were brought into it by usurpation or revolution.

213. One principal result of the farming system, of which a further account has been given in paragraph 54, was a great decrease in the revenue; the net collections for the years 1815—20 were not more than half the sum which the province was estimated to yield in 1803; the land revenue of the present Amraoti district in 1853 was only 7 lakhs, a great fall from the 21 lakhs of Akbar's settlement. Another consequence of the farming system was that it allowed government no means of checking false returns; to the almost incredible extent to which concealment of cultivation was practised is indicated by the report in 1854 of the Resident that whereas the recorded cultivated area of North Berar was only 425,000 *bighas*, the naked eye detected by rapid survey of each village more than 1,700,000 *bighas*. Government simply looked at its revenue, and did not trouble about the spread of cultivation. At the assignment in 1853 the *raiyats* were found to be in a depressed and impoverished state. *Deshmukhs*, Brahmans, Rajputs, and Muhammadans were paying an average of 7 *annas* 6 *pies* per *bigha*, while the Kunbi was paying as much as Re. 1 as. 14. Assessments were often arbitrarily fixed without reference to the quality of the soil.

Early
British
Administra-
tion,
1853—1861.

214. The period from the assignment to 1861 was spent by the British officials in clearing up the confusion into which the land revenue administration had fallen and in feeling their way towards a better system. The revenue services of the *deshmukhs* and *deshpandias* were dispensed with, but the *patel* and *patwaris* were

retained. The old system was temporarily carried on, with the difference that security and fixity of definite demand were given. The Government of India ordered measures to be taken for organizing a survey, and suggested a settlement for five years with an annually increasing *jama*, where circumstances warranted it. In 1856 further instructions were issued, ordering the institution of a revenue survey and settlement, which 'while it shall put an end to all unlicensed exemptions and privileges and shall secure a fair revenue to the State, shall, by the recognition of a proprietary right, in those who can establish a hereditary or prescriptive title, and by the protection of the interests of the cultivators of the soil, invest tenures of land with security and permanency under certain declared conditions, and shall restrict the demand of the State within reasonable limits, which shall not be subject to variation for a fixed term of years.' The system of measurement by the local *patwaris* was approved; the *raiayatwari* form of settlement was condemned, and the introduction of a village system of settlement, on the model of the North-Western Provinces system, was recommended.

215. Pending the introduction of a regular system of survey and settlement, the land revenue administration appears to have been carried on according to the discretion of each Deputy Commissioner, tempered by occasional instructions from superior authority; an annual *jamabandi* was made by him through the medium of the *patel*, the account of each man's holding being taken from the *patwari's* papers. This system gave rise to great inconvenience both to Government and the people and to much speculation and corrupt practice. Each officer charged with carrying out the *jamabandi* arrangements was of necessity virtually given discretionary power to remit revenue to any extent; owing to the wideness of his jurisdiction he was entirely dependent on his native revenue subordinates for the data of his *jamabandi*, and could exercise no sufficient control over the correctness of their returns. A very rough and inaccurate measurement of land was made in some cases. An attempt to rate the land according to its productive powers failed; at the subsequent settlement it was found that often inferior soils had been highly assessed, and rich soils had escaped lightly, as though there had been no system at all in the distribution of rates. Although these methods were far from reliable, they nevertheless constituted an improvement on the existing system; and in spite of their imperfection, this early period of British rule in Berar was one of great prosperity. "The land* revenue increased and multiplied

* Berar Gazetteer, 1870, page 252.

with marvellous rapidity, under the combined stimuli of good government, railways, and the Manchester cotton famine. Cultivation spread over the land like a flood tide." During the misgovernment of the pre-assignment period thousands of families had migrated eastward to the British managed districts of the Nagpur country; with the revival of cultivation and the change of régime in Berar they came flocking back.

216. Though most of the early reports on the land revenue system of Berar clearly indicated that the *patels* and other officials were in no way proprietors, and that the prevalent system was essentially *raiayatwari*, the Government of India, with whom the *malguzari* system of settlement was then in favour, persisted at first in trying to inflict their ideas on Berar. In 1857 the Commissioner of Berar submitted a report on the progress of the *khasra* survey by *patwaris*, declaring it to have been a complete failure. The Government of India then decided to send professional survey parties to do the work on the system followed in the Central Provinces and the Punjab; but for various reasons operations were postponed. In the meantime in 1859 an experimental survey was started, on the Bombay system, of parts of the two districts later handed back to the Nizam. The Government of India, which in 1860 against the protests of the Commissioner ordered the introduction of the *malguzari* system, in the same year was asked to extend these survey operations to the rest of Berar; and in 1861, after much demur and in deference to the earnest protests of local officials, notably of Colonel Meadows-Taylor and Mr. Bullock, the *malguzari* orders were cancelled, and sanction was given to the survey and settlement of Berar on the Bombay *raiayatwari* system.

slat 11

217. Before proceeding to describe the existing system, the course of revenue legislation may be briefly described. It must be recollected that Berar is technically not a part of British India, and that no Act of the Indian or provincial legislature has of its self any force in Berar, the administration of which is regulated by the Governor-General in Council. Legislation for Berar was and is effected by notifications through the Foreign Department; such notifications, whether extending Acts of British India to Berar or legislating specifically for Berar, are theoretically merely the means by which the Governor-General in Council issues executive instructions embodying his wishes on any subject. Up till 1896 there was no regular Land Revenue Code for Berar: procedure was regulated by the application to Berar under such notifications of the Bombay rules for survey and settlement with the necessary local modifications, and of certain sections of Act X of 1860 of the

Governor-General in Council, points of detail being explained by Book Circulars issued by the Resident or the Commissioner. A special Code was after long preparation issued in 1896, in which all the main rules of local revenue and settlement procedure are laid down, their detailed application being regulated by rules under the various sections of the Code made from time to time by the Resident, or, since 1903, by the Administration of the Central Provinces. The principal addition since made to the Code is Chapter VIII-A, added in 1912, which provides for the preparation and maintenance of a record-of-rights in land on the model of the Bombay record-of-rights Act of 1903, making compulsory the reporting of all mutations of rights in land. Other important laws are the Berar Patels and Patwaris Laws of 1886 and 1900, and the Berar Alienated Villages Tenancy Law of 1921, which are described under their appropriate headings.

218. The basis or unit of assessment is the survey number or plot of land of a size adapted for cultivation by a peasant with a pair of bullocks. The arable land, whether cultivated or waste, but available for cultivation, is split up into these numbers, the area of which is accurately ascertained by survey measurement. Each field is separately measured by means of the chain and cross staff, and in the field register there is a separate map of each field complete in itself. The area of the holding is obtained by simple arithmetic, and the calculations are recorded. This detailed field register obviates the necessity of having the village map on a larger scale than 8 inches to the mile. The area of each survey number does not exceed from 20 to 30 acres, and the minimum below which survey numbers are not recognised is 5 acres in the case of dry crop land, 1 acre in the case of rice land, and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in the case of garden land. The fields are marked off from each other by a *dhura* or a narrow strip of fallow land, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, by mounds of earth (*warli*) 10 feet in length by 5 feet in breadth, and 3 feet in height, and by stones (*gota*, *patthar*) between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 feet in length sunk in the ground at certain angles. Besides the cultivable land, the *gaothan* or village site is also surveyed and allotted, and land is reserved for free grazing and other purposes. The term *parampok* is used for numbers that are unculturable by reason of having tombs, sites of wells, etc., on them, and the Bombay plan of allowing parts of numbers to be deducted from the cultivable area as bad bits (*potkharab*) is followed. The survey being done, the classification of the soil begins. There are three classes of land, unirrigated or dry crop (*jirayat*) land, rice land and garden, which is called *motasthal* if irrigated by means of a well, and *patasthal* if irrigated by a channel. For classification purposes each field is

System of
Survey and
Settlements,
Measure-
ment
and class-
fication.

divided temporarily into about twelve parts of some two acres each. Three tests to discover kind of soil, depth of soil, and freedom from defects are made in each part. For the first test soils are divided into three classes or orders, which are described briefly as black, red and white. The full description is: 'First order, of a fine uniform texture, varying in colour from deep black to deep brown. Second order, of uniform but coarser texture than the preceding, and lighter in colour, which is generally red. Third order, of coarse, gravelly, or loose friable texture, and colour varying from light brown to grey.' For the second test, that of depth, the soil is dug up and a crowbar driven in until it is obstructed by rock or some hard substratum or until it has gone in $1\frac{3}{4}$ cubits, that is, $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches. For the third test a list of eight defects has been drawn up, the chief being the presence of fragments of limestone or of excessive sand, slope, liability to flooding, excess of moisture, and clayey soil. When a classification is being made, the classer draws an outline of each field, marks the parts into which it is temporarily divided, and enters in each part figures and symbols to show the results of each test. A soil to be of standard quality, a "sixteen anna" soil, must be black, of full depth, and free from all defects. Indeed, it may have some special advantage, such as a beneficial flooding in the rains, which raises it two or four annas more. For every detail or combination of details in which a plot falls short of standard quality so many annas are deducted according to a table which has been drawn up. Each field is finally valued as a field of so many annas according to the average value of the plots contained in it. In the case of garden land it is necessary in addition to examine the effect of the well or other means of irrigation on the soil. Rice land is classified on a scale of its own. The full details thus obtained about each field are entered in a *prati* or field book which is kept at the head-quarters of the district.

Rate of
assessment.

219. These operations of measurement and classification have nothing whatever to do with the pitch or amount of the assessment. They are only the methods by which the assessment is distributed over the numerous individual holdings of a *raiyatwari* system. The basis of the distribution of the assessment having been fixed, the next step is for the Settlement Officer to work out the rates of assessment. These rates are determined in the following manner. The area dealt with, which is the sub-division of a district known as the *talug*, is divided into groups homogeneous as to physical characteristics and economic advantages, such as climate, rainfall, general fertility of soil, communications and the like. For each of these groups uniform maximum rates are fixed. These maximum rates are the sums which would be leviable upon a field, the soil valuation of which is sixteen annas. Thus if the

maximum rate be Rs. 3 per acre of a sixteen annas field, the assessment per acre upon a field the valuation of which was eight annas would be Rs. 1-8-0, and so on. By applying the maximum assessment rates to the soil valuation the rate per acre on each field is arrived at. In an original settlement the difficulty is to arrive at suitable maximum rates. This difficulty was solved for Berar by taking the rates found in the neighbouring district of Khandesh as a basis for the early settlements. Special rates are imposed on rice and irrigated land. The settlement is made for 30 years and at the end of that period is liable to revision.

220. In a revision settlement the Settlement Officer before **Revision settlement.** fixing the maximum rates considers what direction the revision should take. For this purpose he reviews fully every circumstance shown in the past revenue history, prices, markets, communications, rents, selling, letting and mortgage value of land, vicissitudes of seasons, and every other relevant fact indicating the incidence of the previous assessment and the economic condition of the tract, and upon this indication he bases his proposals for enhancement or reduction of assessment as the case may be. When he finds from the records of the previous settlement that the assessment was designedly pitched low with the object of encouraging cultivation, or for other reasons deemed sufficient at the time, and if he further finds from the land records of the period of the lease under revision that cultivation has in consequence largely expanded, that prices have risen, that the assessment bears a low proportion to the sale, letting and mortgage value of the land, and that, notwithstanding vicissitudes of season, the assessment has been paid with conspicuous ease, he will probably propose an increase of assessment. If, however, he should find that the condition of the country has been stationary, that prices have not risen, and that the country has not been developed or any rise occurred in the value of land, he will not propose any enhancement. Again if the assessment at the original settlement was pitched high, and the cultivation has been contracted, or the revenue has proved difficult to collect, and the relation of the assessment to the value and rental of land is found to be high, the Settlement Officer will propose a reduction. The general result to be attained by the revision of assessment being decided on, the maximum rates are proposed which, when applied to each field by means of the classification, would bring about that result, higher rates being imposed on those groups which enjoy the greater advantages, and lower on the less favourably situated groups. In this way the total assessment, which it is reckoned that the sub-division will bear, is equitably distributed throughout each group, village and field.

Land
tenure.

221. Under the *raiyatwari* system, as established in Berar at the original settlement and as laid down in the Land Revenue Code, each field forms a separate holding for which the occupier engages separately with Government. The holder of a field or "survey-number" is called the registered occupant or *khatedar*, and he holds on condition of paying the assessment and other dues. Failure to pay renders him liable to forfeit the right of occupancy and all rights connected with it, such as those over trees and buildings on the land. Land thus forfeited reverts to Government, and the right of occupancy is put up to auction after due notice. An occupant is not bound to hold his land for more than a single year, and he may relinquish it or any portion of it after due notice. If his land was given out for cultivation before January 1st, 1905, he may dispose of his occupancy right by mortgage, sale, or lease; but from that date all unalienated assessed land has been disposed of subject to the additional condition that neither the occupant nor his heirs or other representatives shall at any time lease, mortgage, sell, or otherwise transfer the whole or any part of his holding without the previous written sanction of the Deputy Commissioner. An occupant is responsible for the revenue of the year in which he relinquishes or transfers his right. He may retain his right for ever if he chooses, subject to payment of the assessment and dues, which are liable to revision once every thirty years. He may effect any improvement that he pleases, and may erect farm and agricultural buildings on the land; but he must not divert his holding to non-agricultural purposes without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. He may also sub-let his holding by private arrangement. Co-sharers and co-occupants possess interests similar in kind to those of the registered occupant and also have certain rights of pre-emption.

The
qabzedar.

222. Though the term *khatedar* persists, the old system has in fact undergone a great change. Until the addition to the Code of Chapter VIII-A, prescribing the maintenance of a record-of-rights, no holder was compelled to report any change in the possession of land, and it thus often happened that a *khatedar*, from motives perhaps of sentiment, perhaps of sloth, allowed his name to remain on the registers long after he had parted with the whole or part of his holding. Chapter VIII-A, by introducing a compulsory record of all existing rights, other than tenancies, in each survey-number and of their nature and extent, together with the rent or revenue payable on them, brought into prominence the *qabzedar* or occupant of each sub-division of a survey-number as the person from whom the assessment on such sub-division was to be recovered; this was only a recognition of existing

practice, for though the *khatedar* was, and in theory remains, responsible for the payment of the assessment on his holding, collections were actually made from the man in occupation of each sub-division. A result of this is that the unrepealed sections of the Code with regard to the rights and liabilities of the *khatedar* are in conflict with the provisions of the new Chapter VIII-A and with the practical recognition of the *qabzedar* which has arisen from that chapter; the amendments necessary to make the Code consistent are now under consideration. For practical purposes, the previous paragraph should be read as though the word "*qabzedar*" were substituted in every case for "*khatedar*"; the former co-sharers and co-occupants being now *qabzedars* in their own name.

223. One of the earliest questions which arose after the cession was the treatment of *jagir* and *inam* claims in Berar. ^{Jagirs and inams.} Rules were finally issued by the Government of India in 1859; a special *Inam* Commissioner had been already appointed to investigate all claims. Lands proved to have been held as *inam* under a fixed quit-rent or rent-free for a period of 40 years before the cession were to be treated as valid *inams*. All grants of land or money supported by *sanads* of such sovereign powers as the Kings of Delhi, or the Rulers of Satara, Scindia, Nagpur, and of the Nizam, as also of the Nizam's Ministers with the exception of certain Ministers who held office in the thirteen years preceding the cession, were to be considered valid when duly authenticated; but such grants when made by revenue authorities of any degree were, except in specified cases, to be disallowed. If *inams* were held under *sanads* or other title-deeds, the documents were to be examined; in the absence of such proof, entries in the village accounts and the oral testimony on oath or affirmation of the village authorities and old residents were to be accepted as proof. Claimants had to prove uninterrupted possession, or that any intermediate resumption of the *inam* had been unauthorised, and that it had been subsequently released under due authority. The validity of the *inam* having been proved, each case was to be dealt with according as it belonged to one of the following classes:—

- (i) Personal *jagirs*;
- (ii) grants or endowments to religious or charitable institutions, and for service therein;
- (iii) Personal or subsistence grants;
- (iv) Grants by former Governments of money or land for *pargana* or village service;
- (v) *inams* or *hags* enjoyed by artisans and others for services rendered to village communities, such as carpenters, barbers, priests, *Dhers* (Mahars), etc.

Personal *jagirs* were continued, subject to a succession duty graduated according to the degree of relationship of the heir. The continuance of service grants in general was made conditional upon due performance of the condition for which they were granted, subject to the exception already noted (paragraph 210) of the *ex-pargana* officials. Personal and subsistence grants were confirmed to the holder according to their actual tenure, subject to certain restrictions upon succession and alienation; restricted tenure, however, might be converted into a free-hold on the payment of an annual quit-rent. Other general rules were laid down affecting each class of *inam*. All changes in ownership of *inams* and *jagirs* are reported on occurrence by the village officials; and the *patwari* maintains registers of *inams* and *inam* mutations, whence he prepares an annual statement; it is the duty of Tahsildars to check this on tour, and to satisfy themselves that the conditions attaching to each grant are in every case being fulfilled.

Tenants in
jagir
villages.

224. With regard to the management of *jagir* estates, the view that a *jagir* was a revenue-free estate and that Government had no concern with anything within its limits was ruled out, and all such estates were surveyed. Tenants on such estates, in cases where no evidence can be adduced as to the conditions of their tenure by reason of its antiquity, are presumed to hold so long as their landlord retains his tenure; and the landlord's powers to fix or enhance rent or to obtain an order of ejectment for non-payment of rent are subject to various restrictions with regard to custom, equity, and compensation for improvements effected by the tenant. It has been laid down that the mere assignment of the revenue of land confers no proprietary or occupancy rights in it, unless such were expressly granted in the original *sanad*; and that consequently the tenant also possesses no such rights, as he holds from a person who does not possess them and so cannot confer them. Resumption therefore of a grant entails a settlement of the occupancy rights of the land resumed; in such cases occupancy rights are generally conferred on the grantee in all fields in his own cultivation, and in other cases on the persons in actual possession who pay rent on their holdings under a written or oral lease.

Waste
lands.

225. In order to encourage the occupation of certain wild and hilly tracts, and to provide land for settling certain wandering and semi-criminal tribes, a scheme of *isara* tenure was drawn up under the title of the 'Waste Land Rules of 1865.' According to these rules whole villages, either deserted or partially deserted, were leased out to individuals on a low rental for a term of up to thirty years, and the lessee was given the option at the end of that

term of either obtaining perpetual hereditary and transferable proprietary rights, subject to payment of one-half of a fair assessment, or, provided that one-third of the land had been brought under cultivation, of merely retaining the right of being or appointing the village *patel*, getting 25 per cent on the collections from the *raiya*s, the village being settled as a regular *khalsa* village. Other conditions with reference to the appointment of ordinary village officers and the payment of cesses were designed to assimilate the organization of *izara* villages to that of *khalsa* villages, with the exception that, when the *izaradar* elected to retain his village, all rights and duties centred in him alone. Rules were made to enable an *izaradar* who chose the proprietary title to undertake his full obligations by easy degrees; it was, however, definitely provided that once these obligations had been undertaken no failure of crops or other excuse would be held to exempt him from payment of revenue, and that failure to pay would involve the attachment or sale of his estate. Between 500 and 600 villages were so leased in parts of the old Wun, Ellichpur and Basim districts now included in the Yeotmal, Amraoti and Akola districts. In 1920-21 there were 394 *izara* villages in Berar of which the *izaradar* is now proprietor. All other villages formerly under the 1865 rules are now *khalsa*. Villages at first were only accepted under considerable official pressure, but cultivation was so profitable that the investment generally proved an exceedingly good one. It was, however, soon realized that there was no need to grant such extraordinary rights, and that they were likely "to entail loss on Government and inconvenience to the Forest Department in consequence of leased villages coming in the centre of desirable tracts of forest*." The Government of India therefore cancelled the rules in 1871. In the meantime the work of demarcating state and district forests was proceeding; and satisfactory progress in this direction having been made, fresh Waste Land Rules were issued in 1876, followed by revised rules in 1879, and again in 1880, providing for the leasing of integral villages which were entirely waste and not within the limits of any state or district forest reserve, and safe-guarding Government's rights by imposing restrictions on the cutting of timber, and reserving all rights to minerals and ancient monuments. All these new rules provided for a lease extending up to the next settlement, rent-free for three years, and thereafter on a rent gradually increasing till the full assessment was reached. During the currency of the lease the *izaradar* was *patel* and *patwari* of the village, and, at its expiry, when the village became liable to re-assessment, these offices

* Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad for the year 1872-73, page 37.

were offered to him, and he was registered as the *khatedar* of all land then occupied by him. The grant of new leases has been discontinued for many years.

Tenants in
permanently
alienated
izara
villages.

226. The original 1865 leases laid it down that in respect of all *raiya*s settled by the lessee on his village, the lessee had full power to make his own arrangements, subject to the proviso that the conditions agreed upon as to rent, period of occupancy, etc., must be reduced to writing, signed copies of the agreement being given to the *raiya*, and that failing such written agreement, a *raiya* would be considered to hold on the same terms as he would enjoy in a *khalsa* village; in the case of partially deserted villages, the leases further specified by name all cultivators holding land in the village before the commencement of the lease and the extent of their holdings, and laid it down that if their occupancy dated from more than seven years before the lease they were not to pay a higher rent than their existing rent, and that if they had held for less than seven years, they were to hold rent-free for the first two years and thereafter to pay a rent increasing on a fixed annual scale, the final maximum of Rs. 5 per field of 18 *bighas* being reached in the seventh year, and continuing till the expiry of the lease or introduction of the revenue settlement. The lessee was given the right of pre-emption if a pre-lease tenant wished to sell his land; and such land reverted to him on surrender. In the *sanads* given from 1896 and onwards to the *izaradars* who became proprietors on the expiry of their leases, it was laid down that the alienee had full power to make his own arrangements with his *raiya*s subject to any rules which the Government of India might from time to time prescribe, and to the proviso that all tenants who had held before the original *izara* lease were to be entitled to pay only a fair assessment calculated in accordance with the system in *khalsa* villages. Tenants in these permanently alienated villages were subject to the same provisions as were applied by the Revenue Code of 1896 to tenants in *jagir* villages, described above: but as regards the former, these provisions have now been repealed by special legislation in the form of the Berar Alienated Villages Tenancy Law of 1921 which came into force early in 1922. The object of the law was to place old tenants to whom the present improved condition of the lands they occupied was chiefly due beyond the reach of capricious exercise of the power of enhancement and ejectment. The general development of Berar had caused the demand for land to outstrip the supply, and led many *izaradars* to seize every chance of ejecting old tenants, or of screwing up their rents to a grossly unfair pitch. In this they were aided by the civil courts. After the law had long upheld

the view that the tenants had been originally persuaded to settle in the villages by the promise of permanency of tenure, the courts in 1909 decided that, while the original leases gave tenants with whom the *israradar* had made no written agreement the same rights as those of *raiya*s in *khalsa* villages, these rights were defeated by the making of any subsequent written agreement with the tenant. Seizing with avidity on this decision, the *israradars* everywhere and by every means, fair or foul, tried to force tenants to sign such agreements, and, when the tenants declined to do so, refused to accept their payment of rent and then secured eviction for arrears. Wholesale ejection of the old tenants began, and this process was greatly aided by a decision in 1913 of a Bench of the Judicial Commissioner's Court that the whole provision in the leases issued under the 1865 rules, whereby tenants who had been given no written agreement acquired permanent occupancy rights, was *ultra vires* as not according with any provision of the 1865 rules themselves. This judgment was almost everywhere followed by ruthless ejections carried out through the Law Courts, rents being raised for this purpose to such a pitch that they could not be paid even in a good year. To cope with this state of affairs, which was resulting in wholesale deterioration in cropping or dispossession of the old tenants, legislation was drafted by the Local Administration and submitted for the sanction of the Government of India in June 1918; the latter, however, were not convinced of its necessity until the existence of all the abuses described above had been clearly proved, by a special investigation held in the winter of 1919-20. The law, as finally issued in November 1921, applies only to *isara* villages in which proprietary right has been conferred, and lays down for tenants in such villages general provisions regarding rent and its payment, the right of tenants to make improvements and receive compensation therefor on ejection, and surrender and attachment, similar to the provisions of the Central Provinces Tenancy Law. Four classes of tenants are recognised; ante-alienation tenants, who must have held their land continuously from a period prior to the alienation of the village; permanent tenants, who have held their land from a date prior to June 1st 1895 or have been created such by the proprietor; sub-tenants who hold land from other tenants, and ordinary tenants, who hold land from the proprietor otherwise than in any of the three preceding tenures. Briefly speaking, the tenures of ante-alienation tenants and permanent tenants are very similar in their incidents to those of absolute-occupancy and occupancy tenants respectively in the Central Provinces, while the conditions of sub-tenures and ordinary tenures are regulated by agreement between the tenant and his landlord;

sub-leases are valid for one year only, and ordinary leases for such term as may be agreed upon in writing, or, if no term be specified, are presumed to be annual leases.

**The
Melghat.**

227. At the time of the cession in 1853 the whole of the Melghat *talug* was occupied either by the Melghat Rajas or by villages of Korkus and other aboriginals who practised *dahya* cultivation and were constantly changing their village sites. The tract was nominally divided into *parganas* and villages; in a few villages land was assessed by *bigha* rates as in the rest of Berar; but in most a primitive assessment by yoke rates prevailed. With the starting of forest conservancy in Berar the old system of the Melghat began to be disturbed. Rough measures for preventing the cutting of teak were taken as early as 1858. The formation of a Forest Department in 1866 led to the demarcation of wide areas in the Melghat as forest reserves, and, as a corollary, to a determination of the position to be accorded to the Rajas. These chieftains were similar to the *zamindars* of the wild parts of the Central Provinces; they claimed to have been established by the Moghal Emperors as hereditary Rajas in order to encourage the spread of cultivation in the Melghat, and to act as wardens of the northern passes leading into Berar. The 1867 enquiry led to the grant to them of compensation for the loss of their forests and forest rights and to the determination of the extent of their *jagir* lands; they were also given an annual stipend for the maintenance by them of police forces in their respective ranges. These police rights were so abused that in 1887 they were formally abolished and the payment of police stipends was discontinued. The Rajas were treated as absolute proprietors of their *jagirs* and no attempt was made to interfere between them and their tenants, it being recognised that Melghat cultivation was so precarious that any high-handedness on the part of the Rajas towards their tenants would lead to the wholesale migration of the latter. Between 1876 and 1896 *sanads* were issued to the five Rajas, which, with a view to preventing the alienation of their estates on account of indebtedness, established an entail based on impartibility and primogeniture, and made all successions and alienations subject to the Resident's consent.

228. The progress of forest demarcation in the Melghat led to the prohibition of *dahya* cultivation, and ultimately, to the classification of about half the area as A and B class forest managed entirely by the Forest Department, and of the remainder, of some 750 square miles, as C-III forest. This tract comprised the revenue area of the Melghat. The forest policy adopted with regard to it originated specifically in the fact that the Melghat was a tract of land which had been occupied by the Rajas and their tenants, and the Forest Department had to deal with the consequences of this occupation.

the C-III area of free user of the C-III forest, so long as they did not attempt to export produce beyond the Melghat: and the outcome of this policy was that, though the Forest Department between 1880 and 1906 drew an income of 23 lakhs of rupees from C-III forests against less than 16 lakhs of rupees from reserved forests, the work of destruction in the former had been so complete that the uncultivable parts of the area had by 1906 been almost entirely stripped of free growth. On the revenue side the administration was conducted on paternal lines without correspondence, and became practically administration by the *patwari* and the *patel* tempered by the occasional interference of the *tahsildar*. Land revenue was assessed on the yoke of oxen, but it varied in different villages and even in the same village according to the quality of the soil. Systematic rules were introduced in 1899, but were given little effect to. A *raiayatwari* settlement had been suggested in 1892, and a survey actually started in 1896 was abandoned on the ground of the risk of disturbing the Korkus by interfering with their fugitive cultivation, it not being realised that in parts of the Melghat cultivation was as stable as in the plains and that existing systems left the aboriginal without protection against the usurer and speculator, who were gradually ousting him from all the best land. The question was again raised in 1906; a special enquiry held in 1907 made it clear that over a wide area cultivation had become permanent and ideas of property in land had developed. Yoke-rates had become standardized by the *patwaris*, who were assuming a unit of 16 acres as the area cultivated by a yoke of oxen. Though land was held merely on a yearly occupation tenure, the occupant being liable to ejection on six months' notice, it was being freely sold and mortgaged as though the occupier possessed the same rights as a *khatedar* in the plains: and consequently was being rapidly taken up by outside speculators. Orders issued in 1909 provided that any large blocks of uncultivable land in the tract should be demarcated and reserved as A class forest, and managed in order to give a regular supply of minor forest produce, and to secure the protection of the forest on the steep hill-sides for meteorological reasons. The remainder of the C-III area was to be disforested; and it was decided that while the great majority of villages in the occupied portion of this area were not worth regular settlement, certain villages, selected for the comparative advancement of their cultivation and cultivators, were to be regularly settled, if they abutted on the Berar plain, on the Berar system, otherwise, on the Central Provinces system of survey and valuation. The settlement, being experimental, was made for 15 years from 1912. 35 villages were settled on the Central Provinces system, 58, which were all transferred to the adjacent plain *taluqs*,

on the Berar system, while the remaining 154 were roughly settled on the old yoke-rate system, the rates being liable to revision. It was also decided that the limitation of the rights of transfer attaching to occupancy rights in land allotted in Berar since 1905 (see paragraph 221) should be applied to all land in the Melghat, and that in allotting new land, preference should be given to aboriginals, non-agriculturists should be excluded, local residence should be stipulated, and trees on the land should not be auctioned. Local rules were also prescribed for the appointment of village officers.

Strength of
different
tenures.

229. The following table shows the number of villages held in Berar excluding the Melghat *taluk* under each class of tenure in 1921 :—

Class of tenure.			Number of villages.	Area in acres.	Area assigned (acres).
Khalsa	...	...	6,003	8,986,597	58,867
State Forest	...	...	140	247,788	...
Jagir	...	..	185	356,368	348,981
Palampat	...	* ...	16	21,084	20,410
Izara	...	...	394	749,316	...
Integral *	...	...	19	18,144	...

* Waste villages falling within the limits of State or district forest reserves and therefore excluded from the operation of the Waste Land Rules of 1879 and 1880.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVIL DIVISIONS OF BRITISH TERRITORY.

230. The province is divided for administrative purposes into five divisions, each controlled by a Commissioner, 22 districts, each in charge of a Deputy Commissioner, and 83 tahsils, each in charge of a Tahsildar.

Districts.	Tahsils.	Area and population of tahsils.
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NAGPUR DIVISION.

Area 22,760 sq. miles; population 3,146,228; districts 5; tahsils 19.

Nagpur—area 3,834 sq. miles; population 792,521; tahsils 5.	Nagpur	{	Area 811 sq. miles. Population 281,314.
	Ramtek	{	Area 897 sq. miles. Population 122,817.
	Umrer	{	Area 969 sq. miles. Population 133,567.
	Katol	{	Area 614 sq. miles. Population 136,691.
	Saoner	{	Area 543 sq. miles. Population 118,132.
Bhandara—area 3,623 sq. miles; population 717,747; tahsils 3.	Bhandara	{	Area 967 sq. miles. Population 216,923.
	Gondia	{	Area 1,105 sq. miles (including zamindaris 719 sq. miles). Population 287,165.
	Sakoli	{	Area 1,551 sq. miles (including zamindaris 817 sq. miles). Population 213,659.
Wardha—area 2,434 sq. miles; population 663,696; tahsils 3.	Wardha	{	Area 815 sq. miles. Population 187,060.
	Hinganghat	{	Area 729 sq. miles. Population 111,609.
	Arvi	{	Area 890 sq. miles. Population 165,027.
Chanda—area 9,312 sq. miles; population 660,630; tahsils 5.	Chanda	{	Area 1,174 sq. miles. Population 159,274.
	Warora	{	Area 1,282 sq. miles. Population 155,723.
	Brahmapuri	{	Area 897 sq. miles. Population 139,911.
	Sironcha	{	Area 3,089 sq. miles (including zamindaris 2,600 sq. miles). Population 61,228.
	Garchiroli	{	Area 2,870 sq. miles (including zamindaris 1,413 sq. miles). Population 144,494.

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Districts.	Tahsils.	Area and population of tahsils.
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• NAGPUR DIVISION.—(Contd.)

Balaghat—area 3,557 sq. miles; population 511,634; tahsils 3.	Balaghat	... { Area 1,085 sq. miles (including zamindaris 431 sq. miles). Population 178,396.
	Baihar	... { Area 1,555 sq. miles (including zamindaris 285 sq. miles). Population 86,438.
	Waraseoni	... { Area 916 sq. miles. Population 246,800.

CHHATTISGARH DIVISION.

Area 22,050 sq. miles; population 3,381,687; districts 3; tahsils 11.

Raipur—area 9,787 sq. miles; population 1,406,676; tahsils 4.	Raipur	... { Area 1,014 sq. miles. Population 253,615.
	Mahasamund	... { Area 5,194 sq. miles (including zamindaris 4,584 sq. miles). Population 554,089.
	Dhamtari	... { Area 1,628 sq. miles. Population 231,240.
	Baloda Bazar	... { Area 1,951 sq. miles (including zamindaris 315 sq. miles). Population 367,732.
Bilaspur—area 7,618 sq. miles; population 1,231,765; tahsils 4.	Bilaspur	... { Area 2,208 sq. miles (including zamindaris 1,073 sq. miles). Population 398,900.
	Mungeli	... { Area 1,452 sq. miles (including zamindaris 512 sq. miles). Population 191,721.
	Janjgir	... { Area 1,405 sq. miles (including zamindaris 105 sq. miles). Population 466,511.
	Katghora	... { Area 2,553 sq. miles (including zamindaris 2,550 sq. miles). Population 174,633.
Drug—area 4,645 sq. miles; population 743,246; tahsils 3.	Drug	... { Area 1,064 sq. miles (including zamindaris 140 sq. miles). Population 261,423.
	Bemetara	... { Area 1,566 sq. miles (including zamindaris 614 sq. miles). Population 231,298.
	Sanjari	... { Area 2,015 sq. miles (including zamindaris 1,124 sq. miles). Population 250,525.

JUBBULPORE DIVISION.

Area 18,965 sq. miles; population 2,296,508; districts 5; tahsils 15.

Jubbulpore—area 3,912 sq. miles; population 745,685; tahsils 4.	Jubbulpore	... { Area 999 sq. miles. Population 256,850.
	Sehora	... { Area 1,181 sq. miles. Population 205,551.
	Murwara	... { Area 1,190 sq. miles. Population 168,389.
	Patan	... { Area 542 sq. miles. Population 114,895.

Districts.	Tahsils.	Area and population of tahsils.
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JUBBULPORE DIVISION.—(Concl'd.)

Saugor—area 3,962 sq. miles; population 528,380; tahsils 4.	Saugor	...	Area 1,054 sq. miles. Population 187,031.
	Rehli	...	Area 1,254 sq. miles. Population 144,451.
	Khurai	...	Area 940 sq. miles. Population 122,268.
	Banda	...	Area 704 sq. miles. Population 74,630.
Damoh—area 2,818 sq. miles; population 287,126; tahsils 2.	Damoh	"	Area 1,799 sq. miles. Population 179,361.
	Hatta	...	Area 1,119 sq. miles. Population 170,765.
Seoni—area 3,216 sq. miles; population 348,871; tahsils 2.	Seoni	...	Area 1,736 sq. miles. Population 227,051.
	Lakhnadon	...	Area 1,460 sq. miles. Population 121,820.
Mandla—area 5,057 sq. miles; population 386,446; tahsils 3.	Mandla	...	Area 1,725 sq. miles. Population 170,239.
	Ramgarh (Bindori).	...	Area 1,944 sq. miles. Population 119,774.
	Niwas	...	Area 1,388 sq. miles. Population 96,433.

NARBADA DIVISION.

Area 18,334 sq. miles; population 2,013,021; districts 5; tahsils 16.

Hoshangabad—area 3,681 sq. miles; population 445,733; tahsil 5.	Hoshangabad	...	Area 774 sq. miles. Population 128,023.
	Seoni-Malwa	...	Area 522 sq. miles. Population 62,416.
	Harda	...	Area 1,125 sq. miles. Population 129,264.
	Pachmarhi*	...	Area 23 sq. miles. Population 4,563.
	Sohagpur	...	Area 1,260 sq. miles. Population 126,030.
Nimar—area 4,227 sq. miles; population 396,554; tahsils 3.	Khandwa	...	Area 1,871 sq. miles. Population 205,126.
	Burhanpur	...	Area 1,138 sq. miles. Population 124,232.
	Harsud	...	Area 1,218 sq. miles. Population 67,196.
Narsinghpur—area 1,976 sq. miles; population 315,162; tahsils 2.	Narsinghpur	...	Area 1,068 sq. miles. Population 152,116.
	Gadarwara	...	Area 908 sq. miles. Population 163,046.

* Included in the Sohagpur tahsil, and treated as a separate tahsil for administrative purposes only. The figure given for population represents the population of Pachmarhi Town.

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Districts.	Tahsils.	Area and population of tahsils.
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NARBADA DIVISION.—(Concl'd.)

Betul—area 3,872 sq. miles; population 363,737; tahsils 3.	Betul	...	{ Area 1,862 sq. miles. Population 129,052.
	Multai	...	{ Area 969 sq. miles. Population 151,961.
	Bhainsdehi	...	{ Area 1,101 sq. miles. Population 82,724.
Chhindwara—area 4,578 sq. miles; population 491,835; tahsils 3.	Chhindwara	..	{ Area 1,981 sq. miles (including jagirs 807 sq. miles). Population 225,901.
	Amarwara	...	{ Area 1,483 sq. miles (including jagirs 790 sq. miles). Population 117,489.
	Sausar	...	{ Area 1,114 sq. miles. Population 148,445.

BERAR DIVISION.

Area 17,767 sq. miles; population 3,075,316; districts 4; tahsils 22.

Amraoti—area 4,704 sq. miles; population 828,384; tahsils 6.	Amraoti	...	{ Area 672 sq. miles. Population 182,284.
	Chandur	...	{ Area 855 sq. miles. Population 193,457.
	Morsi	...	{ Area 623 sq. miles. Population 145,276.
	Ellichpur	...	{ Area 490 sq. miles. Population 143,055.
	Daryapur	...	{ Area 507 sq. miles. Population 122,738.
	Melghat	...	{ Area 1,557 sq. miles. Population 41,574.
Yeotmal—area 5,219 sq. miles; population 748,959; tahsils 5.	Yeotmal	...	{ Area 908 sq. miles. Population 146,587.
	Darwha	...	{ Area 1,078 sq. miles. Population 172,390.
	Kelapur	...	{ Area 1,086 sq. miles. Population 148,703.
	Wun	...	{ Area 802 sq. miles. Population 119,267.
	Pusad	...	{ Area 1,485 sq. miles. Population 162,012.
	Akola	...	{ Area 739 sq. miles. Population 163,708.
Akola—area 4,110 sq. miles; population 798,544; tahsils 6.	Balapur	...	{ Area 551 sq. miles. Population 110,662.
	Akot	...	{ Area 548 sq. miles. Population 139,904.
	Murtizapur	...	{ Area 610 sq. miles. Population 119,883.
	Mangrul	...	{ Area 616 sq. miles. Population 93,391.
	Basim	...	{ Area 1,046 sq. miles. Population 170,996.

Districts.	Tahsils.	Area and population of tahsils.
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BERAR DIVISION.—(Concl'd.)

Buldana—Area 3,734 sq. miles; population 699,429; tahsils 5.	Chikhli	...	{	Area 904 sq. miles. Population 157,189.
	Mehkar	...	{	Area 1,027 sq. miles. Population 148,723.
	Malkapur	...	{	Area 651 sq. miles. Population 156,667.
	Khamgaon	...	{	Area 689 sq. miles. Population 141,948.
	Jalgaon	...	{	Area 463 sq. miles. Population 94,902.

231. Incorporated with the districts are 106 *zamindaris* and *jagirs*, or large estates, separately assessed on somewhat favourable terms, and held generally on a privileged tenure. These are attached to the Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug districts. The Central Provinces also include the 15 Feudatory States of Makrai, Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, Sakti, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Jashpur, Sirguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar, forming the territories of hereditary Ruling Chiefs, whose relations with the Local Government are controlled by a Political Agent appointed for this purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

DETAILS OF THE LAST CENSUS.

Area and Population ; Summary.

232. There was no change in the area of the combined

Country.	Area.	Population.
United Kingdom ..	121,377	45,407,037
Argentina ...	1,132,000	8,250,000
Egypt ...	263,181	12,600,000
Finland ...	145,600	3,300,000
France ...	213,000	42,000,000
Italy ...	120,000	30,000,000
Mexico ...	769,000	16,000,000
Norway ...	124,430	2,600,000
New Zealand ...	105,000	1,200,000
Rumania ...	122,300	17,000,000
Spain ...	196,700	21,000,000
Central Provinces and Berar.	131,052	15,979,660

province during the decade preceding the census of 1921. The seventh general census of the provinces, taken on the night of March 18th, 1921, disclosed a population of 15,979,660, a decrease of 53,650. The British districts of the Central Provinces occupy an area of 82,109 square miles with a population of 10,837,444, Berar of 17,767 square miles

with a population of 3,075,316, and the Feudatory States of 31,176 square miles with a population of 2,066,900. These populations represent a decrease of 2 per cent, an increase of 6 per cent and a decrease of 24 per cent respectively. The Central Provinces in point of area comes sixth and of population seventh among the provinces of India. For the sake of comparison the area and population of other countries are tabulated in the margin. The pressure of population approximates to that of the less developed parts of Southern Europe. It is very considerably greater than that of America or Australia, but does not approach that of the more populous parts of India or of other oriental countries such as Egypt or Japan.

Administra-
tive Sub-
divisions.

233. The Nagpur Division, with 22,760 square miles of

Average size of Divisions.

Provinces.	Average area (square miles).	Average population.
Assam ..	13,254	1,901,557
Bengal ..	15,362	9,239,107
Bihar and Orissa ...	16,632	6,800,438
Bombay ..	24,708	3,858,344
Burma ..	21,639	1,464,350
Central Provinces and Berar.	19,975	2,782,552
Punjab ..	19,969	4,137,005
United Provinces ...	10,649	4,537,579

territory, is the largest of the political divisions, and Berar, with 17,767, the smallest. The Chhattisgarh Division, however, with 3,381,687 inhabitants, comes first in point of population, and the Narbada last, with 2,013,021. The largest district in the provinces is Raipur, with an area of 9,787 square miles and a population of 1,406,676, and the smallest is Narsinghpur, with

an area of 1,976 square miles, and 315,162 inhabitants. The average size of a district is 4,540 square miles, or rather larger than Devon and Somerset, and the average population 632,398.

Average size of Districts.

Province.	Area.	Population.
Assam ...	3,787	543,302
Bengal ...	2,811	1,667,698
Bihar and Orissa ...	3,951	1,619,152
Bombay ...	3,806	688,990
Burma ...	4,240	299,641
Central Provinces and Berar.	4,540	632,398
Madras ...	5,269	1,567,703
Punjab ...	3,336	713,277
United Provinces ...	2,217	945,322

The average land revenue demand of a district (1921) is Rs. 9,16,738, or an incidence of Rs. 1-7-2 per head of the population. Since the last census four new *tahsils* have been formed, in the Mandla, Chhindwara, Balaghat and Bilaspur districts; and, excluding Pachmarhi, which is a separate *tahsil* for certain purposes only, the average size of a *tahsil* is now 1,218 square miles, and the average population 169,668. The largest *tahsil* is Mahasamund in the Raipur district with an area of 5,194 square miles and a population of 554,089; the smallest in area is Jalgaon, in the Buldana district, with 463 square miles, and, in population, the Melghat *talug* of Amraoti, with 41,574 inhabitants. Of the Feudatory States, Bastar, with an area of 13,062 square miles and a population of 464,407 persons, is the largest; the smallest in area is Sakti, with 138 square miles, and in population Makrai, with 12,803 inhabitants.

Density.

234. As in the 1911 census, the province was treated for statistical purposes as divided into five natural divisions, *viz.* :—

- (1) the Narbada valley division, mainly wheat-growing, and comprising the districts of Saugor, Damoh, Jubbulpore, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and Nimar, and Makrai State;
- (2) the Maratha plain division, containing the wealthy cotton-growing plains of Berar and Nagpur, terminated to the east by the rich rice-growing valley of the Wainganga, and comprising the political divisions of Berar and Nagpur;
- (3) the Plateau division, containing the highland districts of Mandla, Seoni, Betul and Chhindwara, where forests predominate in broken country, and the population is still backward;

- (4) the Chhattisgarh plain division, comprising the political division of Chhattisgarh, and the States of Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikadan, Kawardha, Sakti, Raigarh, and Sarangarh, a rice-growing plain drained by the Mahanadi and reaching southwards almost to the Madras coast through the wild territory of Bastar; and
- (5) the Chhota Nagpur States of Changbhakar, Korea, Sirguja, Udaipur, and Jashpur, transferred to the province from Bengal in 1905, and supporting a population physically and ethnically akin to the Oriyas.

The mean density per square mile in the Central Provinces

Provinces or Countries.	Mean density per square mile.
Assam	130
Bengal	579
Bombay	143
Burma	57
Central Provinces and Berar	122
Madras	207
Punjab	183
United Provinces	414
Great Britain and Ireland	389
France	195
Belgium	665
Germany	332
Turkey	46

and Berar is 122 persons. The greatest density, of 154 persons to the square mile, is found in the cotton country of the Maratha plain division, and concentrated in and around the city of Nagpur. Next comes the Nerbada valley with 132 persons; here the density is swollen by the city of Jubbulpore. The Chhattisgarh plain has a mean density of 114; but the exclusion of the sparsely inhabited and extensive Bastar State, with a density of only 36, raises the density of the division to 150, which is a truer

index of its characteristics. The density of the Plateau division is 95 per square mile, and that of the Chhota Nagpur States is only 61.

Variations in the populations.

(a) Previous censuses.

235. The population of the territories now comprised in the Central Provinces was in 1872-8,651,730, and that of Berar in 1867 was 2,227,654. The next twenty years witnessed continuous prosperity and increase of population, only set back by some years of scarcity at the end of the eighties, which culminated in the very unhealthy year of 1889; and at the censuses of 1881 and 1891 increases were recorded in the Central Provinces of 20 and 9.5 per cent., in Berar of 20 and 8.4 per cent., and in the Feudatory States of 49 and 23 per cent. The following decade witnessed a series of calamities, culminating in the great famine of 1900, which took so heavy a toll of life that at the census of 1901 the population had

fallen by 9·2 per cent in the Central Provinces districts, by 5 per cent in Berar, and by 4·8 per cent in the Feudatory States. The years 1901—1911 were marked by a gradual but sure recovery from the disasters of the previous decade, and a rapid progress in commerce. At the census of 1911 the population had risen to 16,033,910, representing an increase of 29·8 per cent in the Feudatory States, where aboriginal tribes predominate which are the first to suffer in times of stress, and the first to recover, and in Berar and the Central Provinces districts of 11 per cent and 17·8 per cent respectively.

236. The very complex agricultural and economic history of the years 1911—1921 had a marked effect on the census statistics. After two satisfactory years, the third year gave an outturn of only 75 per cent of normal, the rice country and the north of the province being particularly affected. In 1914-15 the *kharif* crops were good, but the Narbada valley wheat was poor, and the excellence of the cotton crop was offset by a slump in cotton prices due to the outbreak of the war. The next two years were very favourable; and up to this point the combination of the unprecedentedly high prices incidental to the war and of good seasons had a very beneficial effect on a province so largely dependent on agriculture. But in 1917-18 crops were again only three-fourths of normal, excessive monsoon rain having damaged the cotton and *juar* harvest, and the wheat of the north suffering from the failure of the winter rains. In 1918-19 the rains ceased abruptly in September, resulting in widespread scarcity. The *kharif* crops of the whole province were less than half the normal crop, while, owing to the prolonged drought and consequent hardening of the land which had been prepared for *rabi* sowings, it was impossible to sow the whole of the seed, and the *rabi* area shrank by 30 per cent: favourable winter rains however gave a normal wheat crop in Saugor, Damoh, Seoni, Hoshangabad and Nagpur, and a bumper crop in Narsinghpur, the *rabi* crops failing only in Buldana and Yeotmal. Famine was declared in an area of 12,841 square miles with $1\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants, and scarcity in 38,333 square miles inhabited by five million persons. The total outturn of crops was 55 per cent of normal. Distress was aggravated by the appearance in September 1918 of the fatal influenza epidemic, which lasted till well into the next year, causing a mortality officially estimated at 790,820 in the first three months, with a death-rate of 52·59 per thousand of the reduced population, and leaving a wake of decimated villages. Deaths were undoubtedly more numerous than reported, as the reporting agency broke down under the stress of the disease. The combination of high prices,

(b) Conditions in the past decade.
(i) Agricultural and economic.

influenza and crop failure, aggravated by an inadequate supply of railway waggons due to the heavy traffic caused by the war, produced a crisis which the province weathered with a wonderful power of resistance. An abundant harvest in 1919-20 brought little reduction in prices owing to the depletion of food stocks, and in 1920-21 the monsoon again failed, famine being declared in nearly 12,000 square miles with $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of inhabitants, and scarcity in 35,000 square miles with more than 4,500,000 inhabitants. The Jubbulpore and Berar divisions suffered most: in Seoni and Mandla the harvests did not exceed 25 per cent of normal, and in Saugor alone of the Jubbulpore districts did they exceed 55 per cent. In three Berar districts the outturn was less than 27 per cent, and in the fourth district only reached 40 per cent. The total output of both harvests for the whole province was 42 per cent of normal, the worst failure since 1899-1900. The perfection of relief measures based on previous experience mitigated the primary effect of famine on the census statistics; and though the famine was at its height when the census was taken, very little abnormal migration of population was apparent. There was an inrush of poverty-stricken labourers from Rewah to the cement works and neighbouring railway construction works in Jubbulpore district, and some 4,000 Gonds migrated from Sirguja to the Bilaspur district. There was also an increase in the number of migrants to Jamshedpur and the Bengal coal-fields.

237. With the abnormal conditions prevalent during the decade prices and the cost of living fluctuated widely. For this province there is no official computation of the cost of living by means of index numbers, but some idea of the state of affairs may be gained by comparing the rise in the cost of food with that in wages at typical centres. In the rural area of Amraoti, the rise in wages failed to approximate to the increased cost of the staple food-grain, the difference being very marked in 1918 and 1920; it must however be remembered that supply and demand have more effect on the price of labour in Berar than in the Central Provinces, and that at times of scarcity prices of food rise abnormally in Berar, as so much has to be imported. But wages were not very far below prices in 1919 and will approximate to them with good seasons. In the developed rural area of Hoshangabad the rise in wages was below that in prices, but followed very closely behind it. In Seoni wages actually overtook prices, and in Bhandara were very close behind than at the close of the decade. In Saugor wages rose appreciably but did not overtake the rise in prices due to the famines, while in both the

developed and undeveloped parts of Raipur wages kept fairly level with prices except in 1918. In Nagpur urban wages moved against the labourer; and so also, to a less degree, in Akola, where, however, in the early years of the decade prices fell while the cost of labour remained the same. In Jubbulpore and Saugor, except during famine, urban wages kept pace with prices.

238. Other indications of the material condition of the province during the decade are the following. The rail-borne traffic for the decade averaged 67,547,700 maunds, with an average value for the first six years of Rs. 35,56,77,000 and for the last four of Rs. 49,13,25,000, varying from 56,495,000 maunds valued Rs. 28,64,43,000 in 1914-15 to 78,055,000 maunds valued at Rs. 47,76,61,000 in 1920-21 and 66,930,000 maunds valued at Rs. 59,53,15,300 in 1919-20. The net cropped area fell from 25,018,272 acres to 23,139,206. The length of metalled roads rose from 3,289 miles to 4,199 and of railways from 1,982 miles to 2,429; that of unmetalled roads fell from 4,623 to 3,902 miles. Migration to Assam averaged 9,829 persons during the decade, varying from 1,171 in 1917-18 to 31,365 in 1918-19.

* "The railway traffic during the decade would be a fair index of the trade of the province year by year, but the results are obscured by a number of unusual factors. The outbreak of the war momentarily paralysed trade, and accounts for the sudden drop both in value and bulk. Subsequently the difficulty, due to the shortage of railway stock and the impossibility of replacing it while the war was in progress, prevented the expansion which was due to the demand for India's products being fully displayed in the statistics. A system of preferential booking had to be instituted, and there is no doubt that if facilities had been available the figures during the war and immediately after it would have been considerably swollen. Extensive grain traffic occurred owing to the famines of 1918-19 and 1920-21, and the figures have yet to return to the normal. The net cropped area depends largely on the character of the season, but the fall at the end of the decade reflects, in addition to the results of the two famines, a real decrease in cultivation due to the decimation of the agricultural population by influenza."

239. Census statistics show a decrease in population of 53,650, while recorded vital statistics show an excess of births over deaths amounting to 234,233. This variation of 287,883 is due to inaccuracy in the record of births and deaths and to migration. Vital statistics were undoubtedly affected by the influenza epidemic, one-quarter of the deaths due to or contemporaneous with which probably escaped registration. The statistics of migration are discussed below.

* All quotations in this chapter are from the Provincial Census Report for 1921.

240. Any discussion of the mortality due to particular diseases is subject to the reservation that deaths are reported by individuals too ignorant to recognise any but the most distinctive disease; even influenza deaths have to be estimated by the departure from normal of the figures under the wide head of fever. The figures for cholera, small-pox, and plague are fairly accurate. Deaths from cholera, which is a frequent concomitant of famine, totalled 239,762 during the decade, with an average mortality of 1.7 per mille, and in the famine years of 1919 and 1921 of 4.46 and 4.19 per mille. The average death-rate from small-pox was .22 per mille: that from plague was 1.33 and caused in all 185,627 deaths, the severest outbreak occurring in 1917 when the death-rate was 3.45 per mille. Plague mortality was low compared with that of other diseases; the virulence of the epidemic seems to be subsiding with the greater general acceptance, in the latter half of the decade, of evacuation of affected towns, inoculation and other preventive measures. Dysentery and diarrhoea gave a decennial death-rate of 3.4 per mille. Fever, for which the statistics are notoriously inaccurate, is recorded as having caused 3,779,254 deaths during the decade—a rate of 27.2 per mille. The figures under this head give some indication of the general health in each year; it is noteworthy that in 1918, the influenza year, 1,146,770 deaths are shown as due to fever, a reflection of the general loss of vitality caused by the influenza epidemic. Influenza took 914,830 lives in 1918 and 33,852 in 1919.

241. The population of the Nerbada valley division fell by 2.8

District or State.	Percent- age of variation.
Saugor	.. — 2.8
Damoh	... —13.8
Jubbulpore	... — 0.3
Narsinghpur	... — 3.2
Hoshangabad	... — 2.5
Nimar	... + 1.4
Makrai State	.. —14.8

per cent, the true decrease being probably even greater owing to immigration at the time of census of 48,751 *chaitharas* or labourers for the wheat harvest. Nimar alone shows an increase, this being due to local immigration from Khandesh, where there was a temporary shortage of water. Throughout the division the population increased normally till 1918, when the heavy

influenza mortality upset the balance. In Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur plague and cholera took a heavy toll in 1912: and in that year and in 1918 and 1919, owing to influenza, and, in Narsinghpur, in 1920, owing to relapsing fever, the death-rate exceeded the birth-rate. In Jubbulpore the population remained stationary, heavy immigration compensating in part for the influenza losses. The population of the division has only increased by

168 per cent since 1872, the lowest figure for the province. It was hardest hit by the 1899-1900 famine, from which Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur have barely recovered. The Census Superintendent notes too that "as soon as the cultivator has attained a certain degree of comfort he does not seek to add to his resources. Population does not wish to press on the means of subsistence."

242. The population of the Plateau division shows a decrease in the decade of 6.9 per cent. and a net increase, since 1872, of 45.6 per cent. It is inhabited largely by aboriginal tribes, who suffer most and recover soonest from famine and epidemics. The decrease is chiefly due to the ravages of influenza; in Chhindwara in 1920 there was a high

District.	Percent- age of variation.
Mandla	... -4.6
Seoni	... -11.9
Betul	... -6.8
Chhindwara	... -4.9

mortality from relapsing fever. Betul lost through migration due to the 1920-21 famine; and Mandla was affected more than any other district in the province by that famine. Seoni suffered severely from lack of immigration to counterbalance the influenza mortality.

243. The population of the Maratha Plain division, the

District.	Percent- age of variation.
Wardha	... +0.6
Nagpur	... -2.0
Chanda	... -2.5
Bhandara	... +4.7
Balaghat	... +7.5
Amraoti	... -5.2
Akola	... +1.1
Buldana	... +4.3
Yeotmal	... +3.4

most prosperous part of the province, in spite of influenza increased by .8 per cent during the decade, and has risen by 35.1 per cent since 1872. The great extent of the area under cotton renders this division largely dependent on imported food supplies, and thus less likely to be affected by famine. Berar and Wardha at all times attract immigration for cotton picking; the same is true of the industrial centres of Nagpur, and the

manganese mines of Bhandara and Balaghat. Influenza mortality was very high throughout the division, which, however, recovered very quickly, owing to its greater development and to its power of attracting immigration; Amraoti was the district most affected by the epidemic. Nagpur suffered from heavy fever mortality in 1912 and plague and cholera in 1916. Chanda, the most backward district in the division, lost through migration to more favoured parts.

244. The Chhattisgarh Plain division increased its population by 3 per cent in the decade,

District or State.		Percentage of variation.
Raipur	...	+6'2
Bilaspur	..	+7'5
Drug	...	-4'2
Bastar	State	+7'2
Kanker	"	-1'8
Nandgaon	"	-11'6
Khairagarh	"	-20'2
Chhuikhadan	"	-16'1
Kawardha	"	-20'4
Sakti	"	+20'3
Raigarh	"	+10'4
Sarangarh	"	+15'4

a net increase of 86'6 per cent since 1872. Till the end of the nineteenth century it was practically landlocked; even now many parts are distant from the railway, and road communication is far from good. The absence of good transport facilities and the abundance of the local rice and millet crops long kept the price of grain very low and enabled the population to multiply with great fecundity. Raipur and Bilaspur have doubled their population since 1872, but have

still plenty of room for expansion: the effects of the influenza, though heavy, were thus less noticeable in these districts. Drug has now only 22 per cent more people than in 1872: there is little room for expansion, and the district lost heavily by emigration. All Chhattisgarh is a favourite recruiting ground for labour in the Assam tea gardens and in the mines of the province and of Bihar and Orissa. Bastar has now six times and Kanker three times the population of 1872, but the former remains very sparsely inhabited. Kanker suffered from influenza, while the states of Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan and Kawardha declined in population owing to a heavy migration during the 1920-21 famine to the industrial centres of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa: but the census figures are misleading, as most of the emigrants returned soon after they were taken. The populations of Sakti, Raigarh, and Sarangarh are three or four times as great as in 1872, and increased without interruption during the decade. These states appear to have reached the limit of agricultural expansion.

245. The population of the Chhota Nagpur division fell by 6'7 per cent during the decade.

States.	Percentage of variation.
Changbhakar	... -10'8
Korea	... +27'5
Sirguja	... -11'9
Udaipur	... +9'7
Jashpur	... -11'6

The country is very wild and is peopled by primitive tribes practising *dahya* cultivation. There are no roads or railways, and no migration except to neighbouring states. The decrease is due to influenza and to emigration on account of scarcity. The population owing to

natural fertility is now two or three times as great as in 1872, and given normal conditions will probably again rapidly expand.

Pressure of population on the means of subsistence.

246. The figures show that the cultivable area is 56 per cent of the total area, while the present percentage of the net cultivated area is 34 per cent. The non-cultivable area is undoubtedly small in the Maratha plain, except in Chanda and Balaghat, but very considerable in many of the Feudatory States; in Bastar the cultivable area is only 7 per cent. Of the other districts, Mandla and Raipur certainly contain large areas which could be brought under cultivation with improved communications. Making all allowance for land at present so far removed from the margin of cultivation as hardly to be included in the category of cultivable areas, it is obvious that with the net cultivated area only 61 per cent of the cultivable area there must be large tracts in certain districts and states which could be cultivated with profit if there were any real pressure on the food-supply. Secondly, any such pressure could always find relief by resorting to intensive cultivation. This as yet is hardly known in the province, where the double-cropped area is only 5 per cent of the cultivable area. Any extension of irrigation, which now covers only 2·8 per cent of the total area, has enormous possibilities, especially in the rice tracts.

"The actual method of cultivation is still very primitive, in spite of the efforts of the agricultural department, and a more scientific system of crop rotation would revolutionise agriculture as it did in England. There can be no possible doubt that, given any real pressure of population on the foodsupply, the application of more capital to the land, and an improvement in the methods and knowledge of the cultivating classes, the possibilities of extension of the means of subsistence are very great indeed."

Thirdly, there are possibilities of industrial expansion. The province is industrially in its infancy, but has valuable mineral deposits, the exploitation of which could be widely extended with the expansion of railway communications. Finally, the mean density is only 122 persons per square mile, a very low figure for a semi-tropical country; and quite clearly the population has not yet reached anything like the limit of expansion, in view of the fact that the influenza epidemic carried off at least 6 per cent of the inhabitants.

"The conclusion appears irresistible that if economic pressure really called into being a struggle for existence in this province, which provided a stimulus to the population to seek for a real increase in the means of subsistence, the time is still far distant when the economic law of decreasing returns would come into operation."

Towns.

247. The urban population numbered 1,441,430, or 90 per mille, as against 1,213,049 or 76 per mille in 1911; the figures for

the last census however did not give the real urban population, many of the inhabitants of the towns being then scattered over the country-side owing to the prevalence of plague. Of the present total, 863,486 live in the towns of the Maratha plain division, where the urban population is 139 per mille: for the Nagpur and Wardha districts the figure is as high as 248 per mille, and for Berar 147. The number of places classified as towns is 120, of which 66 are in British districts, 47 in Berar, and 7 in the states. The figures may be slightly swollen by the abnormal influx of labourers to towns due to the prevalence of famine. The urban population has failed to keep pace with the natural increase of the population since 1901, when 90 out of every 1,000 persons lived in towns. The reason for this is that the inhabitants of this province are nearly all at heart agriculturists, and take much more readily to the traditional life of the Indian village than to existence in towns. The lure of higher wages is only a temporary attraction; and the male labourer will leave his family in his village and work for a time to earn higher wages, only to return at a later date. This tendency is confirmed by the fact that of the total urban population 754,989 are males and 686,441 females, a proportion of 1,000 to 909. There is an almost complete absence of new towns; and even in the coal-mining, manganese and cement centres labourers do not congregate together, but live in a circle of villages clustered about the centre of their labour. There is no appreciable tendency to urbanisation except in the Maratha plain, where urban life tends to concentrate around the cotton markets and their attendant gins and presses.

248. Twelve towns have a population of more than 20,000.

Town.	Population.
Nagpur	145,193
Jubbulpore*	108,793
Amraoti	40,694
Saugor*	39,139
Raipur	38,341
Akola	37,864
Burhanpur	35,916
Khandwa	26,802
Bilaspur	24,295
Ellichpur	23,899
Chanda	22,981
Kampti*	20,226

* Including Cantonments

The lower of the two tables shows the strength of the urban population in each natural division, except in the Chhota Nagpur States, where there are no towns. The population of Nagpur city has increased by some 11,000 since the re-census of 1911, and by 72 per cent since 1872. Jubbulpore, Raipur, and Chanda show steady increases. Amraoti and Akola have risen by 6,000 and 12,000 respectively in the decade, and by 74 and 159 per cent since 1872, owing to their importance as cotton centres. Burhanpur was

mistakenly described at the last census as a decadent town, plague having then driven off one-third of the population; it has now 12,000

more inhabitants than in 1911. Saugor declined by 14.4 per cent, Ellichpur, which is slowly losing its importance owing to its distance from the main railway line, by about 4 per cent, and Kampti, which suffers from its proximity to Nagpur and its decline in importance as a military centre, by nearly 16 per cent. Khandwa, which has a rise of 5,200, and Bilaspur which has risen by about 4,500 during the decade

Natural Division.	Urban population per mille.
Narbada Valley	128
Maratha Plain	139
Plateau	41
Chhattisgarh Plain	34

and has five times the population it had in 1872, are important railway centres. Other growing towns are Murwara in Jubbulpore district (19,682), which has increased by 24 per cent owing to its position as a centre for cement and clay, Khamgaon (19,962), Hinganghat (17,200), and Wardha (16,044), important cotton centres, Gondia (10,617), which owing to its importance as a railway junction has quadrupled in 30 years, and Rajnandgaon (12,631), the capital of Nandgaon State, where there are spinning and weaving mills.

Villages.

249. The total number of inhabited villages in the province

Natural Division.	Mean distance in miles between each village.
Narbada Valley	1.6
Plateau	1.7
Maratha Plain	2.9
Chhattisgarh Plain	1.7
Chhota Nagpur States	2.2
Whole Province	1.7

is 47,576, occupied by 910 per mille of the population. In all districts and in most of the States the country, excluding Government forest, is divided into village areas, a portion of which, the *abadi*, is reserved for dwelling places. The cultivator very rarely lives on his fields or outside the *abadi*, but sometimes, owing to congestion or social prejudices against certain castes, small hamlets are formed which may be at some distance from the main village. Every cultivator has a right to

receive house space free of charge from the head of the village, and it is only where non-agriculturists and traders are found that house-sites attain any value. Most villages are small, their average population varying from 227 in the Plateau division to 399 in the Maratha plain. On the Plateau 70 per cent of the villagers live in villages of less than 500 inhabitants, while in the Maratha plain 51 per cent dwell in villages of between 500 and 2,000 persons. Assuming village areas to be regular in shape and distributed all over the country, the marginal table gives the average distance between each. But it must be remembered that actually they are concentrated in the fertile tracts and are rare in forests.

Migration.

a) General.

250. Of the total population of 15,980,000, 15,370,000 or 96·2 per cent were born in

Province.	Percentage of	
	Persons born in district of enumeration.	Immigrants.
Bengal	96	4
Bombay	87	13
United Provinces	93	7
Madras	96	4
Central Provinces and Berar.	88	12

the province, 14,051,000 in the district or state of enumeration, and 15,093,000 in the natural division in which they were found at the time of census. The marginal

table gives comparative figures for some other provinces. The statistics are a striking illustration of the tendency of the Indian to spend his whole life in one

place. There has been since 1911 a marked decline in the migration between the province and other parts of India, due to two factors, first, that there are now no large areas left to attract cultivators from without, while the original immigrants are dying out and leaving their land to native-born children; and, secondly, the prevalence at census time of famine conditions, which, by paralysing trade and reducing the money available to meet the cost of travel, considerably reduced casual and temporary migration. Five kinds of migration are recognised:—(1) *casual*, consisting of movements between adjacent villages, largely arising from the custom of obtaining wives from other villages, and only affecting statistics when the villages lie on different sides of a district or state border; (2) *temporary*, caused by movements of labour on works of construction, by exigencies of trade or by stress of famine (in this males predominate); (3) *periodic*, due to the seasonal migration of agricultural labour or to the industrial demand for labour arising on the ripening of a particular crop; (4) *semi-permanent*, when persons migrate for trade but return at intervals to their native places, where they sometimes leave their families and usually spend their latter years; and (5) *permanent*, where economic or other reasons cause a permanent displacement of population. Each kind occurs in the province. Casual migration is universal, though for the reasons given it was at a minimum at census-time. Temporary migration occurred for the construction of the Nagpur-Itarsi Railway, or of such large irrigation works as the Mahanadi and Tandula canals. Periodic migration is attracted by the wheat harvest of the north and the cotton gins of the Maratha plain; it was less than usual in 1921, as with a cotton crop below normal many gins had ceased work before the census, while the wheat crop matured early and owing to bad conditions attracted

than usual. Semi-permanent migration is confined to trading classes such as Marwaris, Bohras and Kabulis, or to European officials. Permanent migration is due to the attraction of labour to the coal, manganese, and limestone mines, to the cotton mills of the south or to the cement and pottery works around Jubbulpore; the factor of agricultural expansion is undoubtedly less powerful than in the past.

251. The number of immigrants from other parts of India was 603,924, of which British districts and Berar received 241,358, and Feudatory States 362,566, decreases since 1911 of 129,715 and 9,428 respectively. The principal sources of these immigrants are shown in the margin. The number of emigrants from the province was 406,600, those from

Province or State of origin.	Number.	Variation since 1911.
Central India Agency.	194,203	-4,357
Bombay*	107,268	+6,201
United Provinces*	102,104	-29,463
Hyderabad State	90,930	-1,801
Rajputana	49,207	-6,654
Bihar and Orissa*	32,439	-96,159

* British Territory and States.

British districts and Berar being 76,678 more and from the Feudatory States 18,146 more than in 1911. The balance in favour of immigration was 203,000 as against 437,000 in 1911. The greatest decline in immigration is in that from Bihar and Orissa: it appears that the opening of through railway communication with Calcutta led to a considerable influx into Chhattisgarh at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, which has now largely ceased. There are two main streams of immigration, one flowing south-west from the

Province or State.	Number of emigrants.	Variation since 1911.
Assam	91,392	+14,371
Central India Agency.	85,701	+5,638
Bihar and Orissa	77,323	+24,687
Bengal	54,810	+33,827
Bombay	31,922	-2,842
Hyderabad State	25,416	+7,208

United Provinces and Central India, and the other north-east from Bombay and Hyderabad. The districts chiefly affected are Jubbulpore, Saugor, Damoh, Nimar, and the Berar districts. The chief provinces and states which have attracted emigrants from this province are shown in the margin. Emigrants to Assam are of course mainly labourers for the tea gardens. Official returns show that 103,962 labourers left for Assam in the eleven years 1911-21, Bilaspur, Raipur and Jubbulpore supplying the majority. The great increase in emigration to Bihar and Orissa represents largely temporary migration from Chhattisgarh to Messrs. Tata's works at Jamshedpur.

c) Intra-provincial migration.

252. Migration within the province is principally casual, and there are no well-defined streams of moving population as there are in the case of migration from without the province. Except in the Plateau division, migration from without has had more effect on the composition of the population than migration between districts and states : the figures of the latter are very small compared with those of the former. The Narbada valley draws many immigrants from the Plateau and the Maratha plain for its wheat harvest ; Nimar still attracts colonists, while Jubbulpore attracts labour to its industrial centres. The Plateau division draws three-fourths of its immigrants from contiguous districts, its failure to attract people from further afield affording evidence of its still undeveloped state. The cotton country receives little permanent migration except for a few immigrants attracted by its industrial development, but draws a large volume of casual and periodic migration. In the States, Nandgaon with its mills attracts a large number of immigrants, while there appears to have been a considerable permanent immigration from non-contiguous parts of the province into Sirguja.

Religion.

d) Hindus.

253. The strength of each religion in the province in 1911

Religion.	1921.	1911.
Hindus	13,131,802	12,796,796
Animists	2,114,046	2,501,242
Muhammadans	582,032	585,140
Christians	77,718	73,403
Jains	69,794	71,477
Parsis	1,807	1,758
Sikhs	1,681	2,345
Hindu-Arya	521	983
Hindu-Brahmo	173	32
Jews	54	125
Buddhists	28	9

and 1921 is shown in the margin. Nearly five-sixths of the population are Hindus. It has to be remembered that the term Hindu is elastic, and that in many cases the individual himself does not know whether he is a Hindu or not. Another factor to be borne in mind is the difficulty of distinguishing between Hindus and Animists, which is explained below. The

onus of proving himself not to be a Hindu will generally have been placed upon the individual by the enumerator, himself usually a Hindu. It is therefore unsafe to base any conclusions as to the spread of Hindusim upon a corresponding local diminution of Animism. Thus the number of Hindus per mille was 814 in 1891, 813 in 1901, 798 in 1911 and now in 1921 822. The rise is due to the figures for Mandla, Jubbulpore and Balaghat, and the Feudatory States, and is everywhere accompanied by a corresponding fall in the number of Animists. A remarkable example of variation due to the vagaries of enumerators is provided by the statistics of

Chhuikhadan, which in 1891 returned 1,555 Animists per 10,000, in 1901 20, in 1911 1,463, and in 1921 only 2. Of Hindu sects, separate statistics were compiled only for Kabirpanthis, who ignore caste distinctions and attempt to compromise between Hinduism and Islam, and for Satnamis, who abjure all Hindu gods, ignore the headship of Brahmans, and worship without idols the true name (*satnam*) of One Supreme God. The former have decreased from 597,199 to 565,907; the decline, however, which is uniformly distributed over the province, is not due to any real set-back in the religion, though it was considerable in some of the states. Satnamis decreased from 460,280 to 430,361. Both sects are found mainly in Chhattisgarh and the states, especially among the Chamars. Their figures were affected by large emigration from those areas just prior to the census. Hinduism is not a proselytising religion, and any increase in the number of its adherents can only arise by natural increase and by the gradual recognition as Hindus of the primitive tribes. For purposes of comparison the combined totals of Hindus and Animists gives a reliable figure, but the separate totals do not.

254. The number and proportion of Animists in each natural (B) Animists.

Division.	Number.	Percentage of population.
Narbada Valley ...	765,236	6
Plateau ...	636,447	40
Maratha Plain ...	533,021	8.6
Chhattisgarh Plain ...	592,054	12.5
Chhota Nagpur States...	187,288	26.6

division of the province is shown in the margin. The figures are not reliable: there is no vernacular equivalent for the English term Animist; and enumerators were instructed to classify those about whose Hinduism doubt existed by the gods whom they worshipped, all those

who named as their gods personifications of natural phenomena, such as hills, trees and forests, or purely local deities, having the name of their caste or tribe entered in the column for religion. These caste names were then collated, and form the census statistics for Animists. This somewhat crude method leads to great diversity of practice. Animists are almost confined to jungle tribes who venerate different deities more highly at different times and seasons; thus at the time of a small-pox epidemic, an Animist would probably say that he worshipped *Mata devi*, the goddess of small-pox. The enumerator too, who is not likely to be a member of the illiterate jungle tribes, may as a Hindu object to classifying primitive peoples as Hindus, or may desire to make the numbers of Hindus as large as possible. The Census Superintendent in one district checked many of the entries of the 1911 census, and found that the inhabitants

of villages controlled by the Forest Department had been recorded as Animists and their caste-fellows under the Revenue Department as Hindus. In the Feudatory States, where occur the extraordinary variations already noticed, the classification is probably often based on the personal wishes of the state authorities. Any conclusions as to the extent to which Animism is dying out must be based on observation rather than on the census figures. In the depth of the jungles Hinduism has still made little headway: for example, during the influenza epidemic of 1918 the Gonds of Bastar fenced in their villages and placed guards armed with bows and arrows at the gates to shoot the evil spirit. Where the Gond is in demand in the open country as a farm labourer he is before long recognised as a Hindu, such recognition indicating a step upwards on the social ladder.

(c) Muham-
madans.

255. The number of Muhammadans decreased during the decade by '5 per cent: this fall must be due to natural causes, as the religion gains converts, particularly among the lower Hindu castes, and seldom loses its adherents. Of the 582,032 Muhammadans in the province, 245,024 are inhabitants of Berar, as against 238,637 in 1911; this increase of 3 per cent compared with one of '6 per cent in the total population of Berar perhaps indicates a greater natural increase of Muhammadans than of Hindus where the former are numerically strong. The large Muhammadan population of Berar is due to the fact that it was long under direct Muhammadan rule and still technically forms part of the Nizam's Dominions. The districts which have the highest percentage of Muhammadans are Nimar (10), where Burhanpur was once the capital of the Faruki dynasty and the gateway of the Deccan, Akola (9'1), Amraoti (8'5), Buldana (8'4), Jubbulpore (5'6), Yeotmal (5'6) and Nagpur (4'7). The only important sects are Sunnis, who form 98 per cent of the total, and Shias, whose present total appears to be less than half of that of 1911. The indigenous Muhammadans are almost all Sunnis, the Shias being either up-country immigrants or members of such trading communities as the Bohras. There are a number of castes some of whose members profess Islam but have not discarded their caste names.

(d) Chris-
tians.

256. The number of Christians has increased from 73,403 to 77,718. European British subjects have decreased in number from 7,033 to 5,627 owing to the large numbers who took part in the war and have not yet returned to India. Anglo-Indians number 3,574, an increase of 86. The number of Indian Christians is 68,252. Roman Catholics constitute 60'2 per cent of the Christian community, and out of their total of 47,416 no less than 34,036

are Oraons from Jashpur State, where there were wholesale conversions between 1901 and 1911. Anglicans (14·3 per cent) have increased from 8,240 to 11,092, but the figures are probably incorrect owing to faulty returns by Hindu enumerators. Methodists constitute 5·9 per cent, Presbyterians 3·6, Baptists 3 and Lutherans 2·6. Conversions were few during the decade, the increase in Indian Christians being rather less than 6,000, of whom nearly one half came from Chhattisgarh where the Chamars provide many converts. Missionary activities were hampered throughout the war by shortage of staff and of funds.

257. Jains number 69,794, or nearly 2,000 less than in 1911. (e) Jains. The large preponderance of Jain males over females, amounting roughly to 12 to 11, arises from the fact that the Jain is a sojourner in the province, his real home being in Rajputana or Bundelkhand to which he makes long periodic visits, sometimes even keeping his family there. Almost all Jains are traders and thus wealthier than members of other communities; but their birth-rate is low, owing perhaps to their sedentary habits and their strict observance of *pardah*. They are most numerous in the Jubbulpore and Berar divisions. They have two main sects, *Digambars* and *Swetambars*; but owing to representations made by two Jain Associations of Bombay and Calcutta, instructions were issued to record separately *Digambars*, *Swetambars*, *Swetambar Terapanthis*, and *Sthanik-basis*. The percentages of these four sects were 32, 16, 8, and 4: 40 per cent were returned as Jains unspecified.

Age.

258. Age statistics for India are unusually unreliable, owing to

Age periods.	Percentage of total population in			
	1921.		1911.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
0-5 years ...	12·7	13·5	15·7	16·4
5-10 " ...	16·1	16·1	13·8	13·6
10-15 " ...	12·8	10·8	10·1	8·4
15-20 " ...	7·1	6·5	6·8	6·6
20-40 " ...	29·4	30·9	32·9	33·8
40-60 " ...	16·7	15·8	16·1	15·4
Over 60 " ...	5·2	6·4	4·6	5·8
Mean age (in years).	24·39	24·72	24·18	24·48

the wide-spread ignorance of the inhabitants as to their age: enumerators have often to judge by appearance and are even more handicapped in the case of *pardahnashin* women, for whose age they have to take the word of the head of the household. The tendencies are to return too low an age for males and unmarried girls approaching puberty, and to exaggerate that of young wives and the very old. The permanent factors determining age-distribution are the fecundity of the population and its natural

expectation of life: these have changed but little in India, though the tendency among high castes to postpone the date of marriage may result in an increase in the birth-rate, and a decrease in the death-rate of women of child-bearing age. Temporary factors of great importance in the past decade were the famines of 1918 and 1920, and the influenza epidemic of 1918-19; while the effect of the great famine of 1900 has not yet disappeared. The present age-distribution, details of which are given in the margin, is remarkable for the excessive number of persons above 40, which is accentuated at higher ages, and for the fall in the percentages of the age-periods 0—5 and 20—40. The causes of these phenomena are the comparative immunity of the old from influenza, the birth-rate due to influenza, and the infant mortality at the time of the 1899-1900 census. The present position therefore favours high death-rate and a low birth-rate, and no considerable increase of population can be expected in the near future. The fall in the birth-rate will be accentuated by the increase, due to the epidemic, of the number of child-widows, many of whom will not re-marry. But the end of the next decade should witness a rise of the birth-rate as the present children attain maturity, and a decrease of the death-rate as the old people die off. In the present decade there should thus, given normal circumstances, be a small increase of population and a considerable improvement of its age-constitution. The factor principally responsible for the conditions at the time of the census was of course the influenza epidemic. Its primary effect was the increase in the death-rate (*vide* paragraph 236); then follow the decreased birth-rate due to miscarriages, the decrease in the age-period 15—40, the increased number of widows, and the general lowering of the vitality of the population which is evident from

	Percentage of married females aged 15—40 to total female population.	
	1911.	1921.
Whole Province	36	32
Narbada Valley	37	33
Plateau	36	31
Maratha Plain	36	32
Chhattisgarh Plain	36	32
Chhota Nagpur	34	31
Hindus	37	32
Muhammadans	34	32
Animists	36	32

the enhanced death-rate at every age-period in 1919. The deterioration in age-constitution must be followed by an increased death-rate, owing to the large population of old persons. The marginal table shows the general decline in the proportion of women of child-bearing ages, which cannot fail to produce a low birth-rate in the next decade; and the effects of the present low birth-rate will be felt 15 years later, when

fewer women of child-bearing age will attain maturity.

only favourable feature is the comparatively large number of survivors from 5 to 15 years of age. Assuming that there is no recurrence of the influenza epidemic, at least ten years must elapse before the age-constitution of the population begins to approach normality.

Sex.

259. The number of females to every thousand males has

Natural division.	Number of females per 1,000 males in respect of		
	Actual population.	Births.	Deaths.
Narbada Valley ...	961	949	932
Plateau ...	1,026	938	919
Maratha Plain ...	982	948	925
Chhattisgarh Plain ...	1,053	*971	*907
Chhota Nagpur ...	966	Not available.	
Total Province ...	1,002	955	922

* British districts only.

dropped from 1,008 in 1911 to 1,002 in 1921 as against 945 for India as a whole, and 1,068 for England and Wales. The district figures vary from 930 females in Nimar to 1,097 in Durg. Females predominate in almost all the districts in which rice is the staple food, and especially in the forest areas: the Chhota Nagpur states and Bastar, however, show a very low proportion of women. The figures by religions are 1,002 Hindu females per 1,000 males, 1,037 Animist, 942 Muhammadan, 966 Christian and 964 of other religions. The proportion of females to males in selected castes varies considerably, males being most numerous in the more intellectually developed communities. Brahmans have only 867 females per 1,000 men, the twice-born castes as a whole 921, higher artisans 956, higher cultivators 988, lower artisans and traders 1,013, serving castes 1,028, untouchables 1,032, and aboriginal tribes 1,051. The marginal tables above shows that in the Chhattisgarh plain and Plateau divisions the excess of females is due to a proportion of male births and a male mortality above the provincial average. The law that a high birth-rate accompanies a high death-rate is true of the population as a whole, but does not apply with equal force in the case of the sexes. The steady fall in the proportion of females, from 1,019 per 1,000 males in 1901 to 1,002 in 1921, is due not to any change in the relative birth-rates of the sexes, but to the higher female mortality: in every division the birth ratio has remained constant, while the death ratio has varied in favour of the male. It is, however, to be expected that, if the coming decade is free from phenomena which operate adversely to females, at the next census the proportion of males will decrease: for the proportion of women over forty years of age, which fell from 1,086 in 1901 to 1,038 in 1911, has further declined to 1,016 at the present census, and the effect on

the statistics of the more unfavourable age distribution of women has practically disappeared. Another important factor bearing on the present ratio of the sexes is the fact that the famines and influenza of the decade pressed more hardly on females than on males: thus in the influenza year 1918 the female deaths reported were 980 to every 1,000 male deaths, the highest figure of the last thirty years.

Civil condition.

260. The proportion of each sex in the three civil conditions is shown in the margin.

Condition.	Proportion per 1,000 of sex in		
	1901.	1911.	1921.
<i>Male.</i>			
Unmarried ..	451	442	453
Married ...	488	513	486
Widowed ...	61	45	61
<i>Female.</i>			
Unmarried ...	328	325	342
Married ...	495	522	497
Widowed ..	177	153	161

Divorced persons are included in the widowed: but their numbers are very small, divorce being generally followed by remarriage of one or both parties. The figures are very similar to those of the 1901 census, which also was taken after an abnormally high death-rate: those of 1911, which showed surprising similarity to the 1881 and 1891 figures, probably represent the normal. Mar-

riage is of course almost universal. In the age-period 20—30 the numbers of unmarried males and females per 1,000 are 75 and 11, respectively; the corresponding figures for persons above the age of 40, after which very few marriages occur, are 31 and 13. Unmarried females above 60 years of age have increased from 6 to 12 per mille, a necessary consequence of the high number of 25 unmarried per mille in the 25—40 age-period in 1901. Very little progress has been made by the movement for postponing the date of marriage. Married males in the age-period 0—10 are more numerous than at any time since 1881; married girls below five years of age retain the 1911 proportion, and in the 5—10 age-period number 143 per mille as against 159 in 1911 and 127 in 1901. A comparison of the figures in all age-groups with those of the 1901 census indicates that the similarity of the economic conditions of 1921 and of 1901 rather than the diffusion of more advanced ideas is responsible for the variations in the statistics. The high influenza mortality is reflected in the number of the widowed, which again closely resembles that of 1921. The practice of polygamy among certain communities accounts for the fact that 497 females per mille are shown as married as against 486 males. Local variations depend largely upon the comparative influence of the different religions in the natural divisions. Child-

marriage is of course commonest among Hindus; and similarly the Hindu prejudice against the re-marriage of the widowed of either sex bears fruit in the fact that there is a higher proportion of widowed at each age-period among Hindus than among the total population. The Hindu practice of child-marriage has little effect on Animists as a whole: 3·2 per cent of their females and 1·5 per cent of their males below the age of 15 are married, figures which are lower than those of 1901: and even in the age-period 15—20 only 3 in 10 Animist males are married. The figures of the widowed show that re-marriage is easy among Animists. Muhammadans stand half-way between Hindus and Animists in the matter of early marriage; the figures of the last 20 years suggest a slight but appreciable progress among them towards the postponement of the date of marriage. Hindu sentiment being strongest in the Maratha Plain division, the richest and most advanced part of the province, it is natural to find child-marriage most prevalent there; it is least prevalent in the Chhota Nagpur states. The proportion of widows corresponds closely to the prevalence of early marriage. Figures for Nagpur city and Jabulpore city show clearly that the marriage ceremony is performed much earlier in the country than in cities, owing possibly in part to the teachings of social reformers and in part to the presence in cities of greater educational facilities.

Literacy.

261. As at the census of 1911, the standard of literacy was

Natural division.	Number of literate per mille, all ages 10 and over.			
	Males.		Females.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Narbada Valley ...	153	130	14	8
Plateau ...	82	70	7	3
Maratha Plain ...	127	100	9	4
Chhattisgarh Plain ...	58	49	5	2
Chhota Nagpur ...	21	*	3	*

* Figures not available.

made the individual's ability to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. The number of literates returned was 609,249 males and 52,304 females, or 41·4 per mille of the total population, and 103 males per mille and 8 females per mille of those above 10 years of age; the corresponding figures for 1901 were 86 males and 4 females. Of the natural divisions, the Narbada Valley

still shows the highest proportion: but the figures for the Maratha Plain are pulled down by low proportions in the districts of Chanda, Balaghat and Yeotmal. Among districts, Jabulpore comes first with 167 literate males per mille over 10 years of age, followed by Amraoti (166), Hoshangabad (164), Nagpur (160) and Narsinghpur

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(159) : of the states, Makrai (161) comes easily first, followed by Nandgaon (65) and Sarangarh (65). Education is particularly backward in the states. Female education is still in its infancy, only 1 per cent of the female population being able to read and write. The highest figures, of 21 and 19 per mille over ten years of age, are found in Nagpur and Jubbulpore, respectively, where there are greater facilities for education than elsewhere. In the states female education is extremely backward, though Udaipur (15) and Makrai (9) are notable exceptions. The proportion of

Religion.	Number of literate per mille over 5 years of age.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.
Hindu ..	47	89	6
Animist ..	6	10	2
Muhammadan ..	131	235	26
Christian ...	313	364	255
Jain ...	313	531	78
Parsi ...	784	852	699
All religions ...	48	87	8

literate over 5 years of age by religions is shown in the margin: a notable feature of the figures is the great superiority in this province of Muhammadans over Hindus in point of education. Among individual castes, the Muhammadam Bohras with 383 per mille of the total population have the greatest number of literates, followed by Kayasths (349), Banias (279), Brahmans (267), Bidur (245),

Kasar (233), Komti (219), Rangri (211), Gurao (198) and Sunar (161). The Kayasths (84) have the highest proportion of female literates. Banias, Brahmans and Kayasths have declined in literacy during the decade. The spread of literacy is largely occupational, a cultivating caste like the Kunbis having only 88 literate males and 3 females per mille. Among the aborigines the Gonds with 11 literate males and 1 female per mille are typical. In the province 84 males and 9 females or 47 persons per 10,000 over 5 years of age are literate in English, the highest figures being Nagpur (175), Hoshangabad (82) and Amraoti (73). The states of Makrai and Udaipur have the high proportions of 70 and 66.

The marginal statement of educational institutions and pupils

Year.	Number of	
	Institutions.	Pupils.
1891 ...	3,129	161,840
1901 ...	3,430	174,091
1911 ...	3,865	297,620
1921 ...	4,906	350,685

illustrates the continued spread of education. During the decade literate males increased by 19 per cent and females by 100 per cent, while in the last 40 years male literacy has more than doubled.

Language.

262. The linguistic test prescribed by the Census Code was the language which each person used in his home. At this census enumerators, who cannot distinguish between a dialect and a separate language, were told to enter the local name of the language, and the necessary classification was done in the tabulation office with the aid of the tables in Sir George Grierson's Linguistic Survey. The figures for languages are very accurate; those for dialects are of less value, inasmuch as the enumerator would in some cases enter the language by its main name such as Hindi, or in others by the name of a dialect such as Chhattisgarhi. The principal vernaculars of the province are Hindi, Marathi and Gondi, spoken respectively by 56, 31 and 7 per cent of the population. These figures have not altered since 1911: but in reality there is an increase in the number of Hindi speakers, disguised by the fact that Rajasthani at this census is for the first time shown as a separate language and that its dialect of Marwari, of which there are 68,000 speakers, is no longer included in Hindi, both in accordance with Sir George Grierson's classification. Hindi predominates in the Narbada, Jabulpore and Chhattisgarh Divisions, Balaghat district, and in the Feudatory States, where it is found side by side with Gondi and other Dravidian tongues: Marathi is the language of Berar, the Nagpur Division except Balaghat, and small portions of adjacent districts. Both languages are Aryan, and represent the stream of Aryan immigration—Hindi that from the north and Marathi that from Bombay and the west. Hindi is the *lingua franca* of the province, in the sense that a knowledge of it will enable the speaker to communicate with the country people practically throughout the Marathi-speaking country, and that even among the aborigines speaking their own languages many use Hindi for communication with the outside world: on the other hand a Marathi speaker will not be understood outside the Maratha country.

263. The marginal table shows the numbers of the speakers of the chief Aryan languages of the province. Hindi has two main divisions, Eastern and Western Hindi. In this province Western Hindi comprises Bundelkhandi and Urdu: the former is found in the Seoni, Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Saugor and Damoh districts, to which it has spread from Bundelkhand, and the latter wherever there are Muhammadans. The total number of Urdu speakers is returned as 357,422.

Language.	Number (in thousands) of speakers.
All Aryan languages ...	14,402
Hindi ..	8,889
Rajasthani ...	166
Marathi ...	4,966
Bhili ...	18
Oriya ...	308
Gujarathi ...	41
Others ...	14

Aryan languages—
Hindi.

against 292,485 in 1911 and a Muhammadan population of 582,032: these figures are most reliable for the Marathi-speaking country, but less so where the general population speaks other Western Hindi, there being considerable doubt as to the border-line between Urdu and Western Hindi in general. In Berar 99 per cent of the Muhammadan population speak Urdu, and in the Nagpur Division, excluding Balaghat, 98 per cent. Eastern Hindi belongs to the mediate group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and includes three main dialects—Awadhi, Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi. The two former, however, are not linguistically distinct, and owe their classification as distinct languages to the fact that they are popularly recognised as separate forms of speech. The Awadhi-Bagheli dialect is spoken in the Māndla and Jubbulpore districts and in Changbhakar State. Chhattisgarhi is spoken in Balaghat, Chhattisgarh, and most of the adjoining Feudatory States. Along the Orissa border Chhattisgarhi with a slight admixture of Oriya words is known as Laria.

Rajasthani. 264. Rajasthani has three main dialects in the province—Marwari, Nimari and Banjari. Marwari has 68,428 speakers and is distributed all over the province wherever Marwari traders are found. Nimari, a form of the Malvi dialect, has 1,500 speakers, chiefly in Nimar: enumerators probably confused it with Hindi. Banjari is the language of the carrier tribe of Banjaras, who, since the loss of their occupation with the spread of road and railway communication, have settled mainly in Yeotmal, Akola and Nimar; it is spoken by 96,127 persons.

Marathi. 265. Marathi belongs to the southern group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The number of its speakers was 4,965,901, against 5,012,099 in 1911. In Berar there has been a slight increase corresponding to the natural growth of the population; but the figures suggest that Marathi has failed to hold its own against Hindi in the border-line area. In non-Marathi districts it has continued to give ground to Hindi except in Bilaspur, where Marathi speakers increased from 3,668 to 11,668. Halbi, a mixture of Hindi, Oriya and Marathi, is the only important dialect of Marathi. It is the language of the Halba and other tribes, and it is largely spoken in Bastar, where it is cut off from the rest of the Marathi-speaking country. Halbi speakers in Bastar have increased from 127,047 to 160,806; elsewhere it is either dying out or being absorbed in Marathi, from which in the course of time it will cease to be distinguished.

Oriya, Gujarathi and Bhili. 266. Oriya is spoken on the eastern border of the province in the States of Sarangarh, Raigarh and Bastar, and in the Raipur district, especially in the Khariar *samindari*, where it is the

predominant form of speech. It has one dialect, Bhatri, which is spoken in Bastar and contains an admixture of Halbi. Its speakers increased from 302,635 to 307,788. Gujarathi is the language of traders from Gujarath, and like Marwari follows in the wake of trade. Bhili is the language of the Bhils of Nimar; its speakers have decreased from 23,623 to 18,338.

267. The marginal table shows the strength of the Dravidian languages of the province. **Dravidia language**
Gondi.

Language.	Number (in thousands) of speakers.
All Dravidian languages ...	1,434
Gondi ...	1,177
Telugu ...	116
Kurukh or Oraon ...	101
Kolami ..	24
Kanarese ...	11
Tamil ...	5

is spoken by 7 per cent of the population or by 1,177,031 persons against 1,167,015 in 1911. It does not appear to be dying out, though the total number of Gonds (2,109,583) far exceeds those who speak the tribal language. Gonds are not confined to the remote tracts, but are also found scattered about the open country where they are much prized as farm labourers: it is this class which no longer speaks Gondi. The language is strongest in Seoni, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Betul, Chhindwara, Eastern Berar, Drug and the States of Kanker and Bastar; in Bastar it has 201,687 speakers. Its only real dialect is Parji, which has some affinity to Oriya and is spoken by the Parjas of Bastar.

268. Of the remaining Dravidian languages Telugu and Kurukh **Other Dravidia language**
or Oraon are the principal. Telugu is found along the southern border of the province, in Bastar, Chanda and Yeotmal. Its speakers have fallen in number from 140,413 to 115,786. Kurukh or Oraon is spoken by the Oraons of the Chhota Nagpur States; its strength has slightly decreased. Tamil is spoken mainly by Madrasi servants, and Kolami by the aboriginal tribe of that name in Yeotmal and Wardha.

269. The Munda or Kolarian languages are numerically unim- **The Munda language**

Language.	Number (in thousands) of speakers.
All Munda languages ...	128
Korku ...	112
Kherwari ...	10
Kharia ...	6

portant; but from the linguistic point of view they are the oldest in India and are the last trace of the pre-Dravidian population. Kherwari comprises a number of small dialects spoken by tribes on the Orissa border. Kharia is spoken in Raigarh and Jashpur. The Korkus are an isolated tribe in Hoshangabad and Nimar: the speakers of their tribal language have decreased from 134,829 to 112,194.

Displacement of Non-Aryan by Aryan languages.

270. With the gradual opening up of communications, a tendency for the tribal languages of the aboriginal tribes to disappear might naturally be expected. But at all events the process is a very slow one. The number of Gondi speakers has increased steadily from 975,337 in 1901 to 1,177,031 in 1921. Bhili, Oraon, Banjari and Kharia have slightly decreased during the decade but Bhili and Banjari still show a substantial increase over the 1901 figures. The conclusion is that these languages are not likely to disappear until the more backward parts of the province are developed.

Infirmities.

271. The marginal table shows the number of persons in

Infirmity.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
Insanity ...	224	754	129	161	231	159
Deaf-mutism ...	884	467	435	442	618	440
Blindness ..	2,555	2,066	1,750	1,789	2,533	1,324
Leprosy ..	500	456	445	652	717	271

every million of the population suffering from each main infirmity at the last five censuses. Statistics of infirmities are unreliable, as such ailments

often require expert diagnosis, whereas the information concerning them has to be collected through an entirely untrained agency: they are however the only available information concerning the prevalence of the infirmities tabulated. There was a steady decline in the figures until 1901, and a distinct increase in the following decade. At the present census there has been a further marked increase in the total number of infirm persons in the province from 50,403 to 66,519; in the case of leprosy this increase is only small. The influenza epidemic, which particularly attacked those in the prime of life, helped to increase the ratio of the infirm to the general population: but the probable causes of the increase are the prevalence of famine conditions at the time of the census and the much greater accuracy of classification at this census. At times of famine there is an insistent demand for inclusion on the list of those entitled to gratuitous relief. It being a basic principle of Indian famine administration that it is better to provide work than charity for the able-bodied, the list is constantly and minutely scrutinised: the possession of an infirmity thus becomes an asset, and instead of being concealed, as at normal times, is very unlikely to pass unrecorded, the census schedules and the gratuitous relief lists alike being prepared by the village *patwari*. Further, the free kitchens established by charity at large centres invariably attract large numbers of the infirm. Viewed in this

light the small increase of 2 per cent in the number of lepers probably indicates an actual diminution of leprosy.

272. The total number of insane persons was 3,576, of whom (a) Insanity.

Province or country.	Number of insane per million of population.
Bengal	411
Bombay	419
Madras	203
Punjab	275
United Provinces	157
Central Provinces and Berar	224
England and Wales	2,957

2,248 were men. The marginal table shows that the province, which in 1911 contained a smaller proportion of insane persons than any other province in India, has now surpassed Madras and the United Provinces in this respect. The great difference between the figures for India and

England was attributed in the 1911 Census Report to the greater complexity of life in European countries and to the larger consumption of intoxicants by the working classes of Europe: allowance must also be made for the fact that an insane person is much more likely to be enumerated as such if he is in an asylum. At the same time the high proportion of insane persons in Mandla, Betul, Amraoti and Buldana suggests that the use of intoxicants is certainly a contributing cause of insanity. Insanity is always commoner among men than women, but Indian statistics are affected by the likelihood of the concealment of females, particularly of the higher castes. The prevalence of insanity amongst females is greatest at the earlier child-bearing age-periods and in old age, when it approaches that of insanity among males. A possible result of the enfeebling effect of influenza is the considerable increase in the proportion of lunatics among those in the prime of life.

273. The number of deaf-mutes returned was 14,082, a proportion of 881 per million (b) Deaf-mutism.

Province.	Number of deaf-mutes per million of population.
Bengal	673
Bihar and Orissa	527
United Provinces	500
Punjab	890
Madras	507
Bombay	549
Central Provinces and Berar	881

against 7,502 or 467 per million in 1911. The figures are considerably higher than in England and Wales, where at the 1911 census there were 468 per million male deaf-mutes and 373 females. The largest increases are found in Berar (1,339 to 3,581) and in the Nagpur Division (1,458 to 3,165); it is probable that the stream of

immigrants from Hyderabad State, where famine was exceptionally severe, brought with it many afflicted beggars. Narsinghpur has the highest proportion of deaf-mutes, followed closely by the districts of Berar and the cotton country. The probable explanation of a large part of the increase lies in the fact that at this census for the first time statistics of infirmities were collected without reference to their congenital nature: consequently many old people who had become deaf or in some cases dumb were enumerated as deaf-mutes; this is borne out by the enormous increase in the age-period 60 and over of deaf-mute males from 34 per 100,000 to 224 and females from 22 to 180. So far as any tendency to this affliction among castes or tribes can be traced, it would appear to be in the direction of an increase among the more sedentary section of the population.

Blind-
ess.

274. The number of blind people recorded increased from

Province or country.	Number of blind per million of population.
Bengal ..	719
Punjab ...	2,590
United Provinces ...	2,291
Madras ..	868
Bombay ...	1,862
Central Provinces and Berar ..	2,555
Bihar and Orissa ...	819
England and Wales ...	730

33,128 or 2,065 per million in 1911 to 40,836 or 2,555 per million, and the province, with the exception of the Punjab, now occupies the most unfavourable position in India. In British territories blindness is commonest in Chhattisgarh and the Nerbada Valley, particularly in the wheat-growing districts of Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur, and is least frequent in the Plateau division. In the states extraordinarily high figures and increases are reported from Kawardha and Chhui-

khadan, probably owing to the temporary exodus of a large portion of the able-bodied to industrial centres, while the incidence is very low in the forest country of Sirguja and Bastar. The tendencies of the decade may be thus summarised; the population has grown older, the proportion of blind persons among the aged larger, and the preponderance of blind females over blind males more accentuated; blindness is principally a disease of the aged; and congenital blindness has not increased. The chief causes of blindness in India are the glare of the sun, the dust of the dry weather, and the smoke of the cooking fire: to this may be added the application of unscientific remedies to children's eyes. During the decade operations for cataract increased in number from 7,900 to 10,586: but scientific eye treatment is practically confined to towns and cities.

275. The number of lepers increased from 67,307 or 4 per (a) Leprosy.

Province.	Number of lepers per 100,000 of population.
Bengal	33
United Provinces	26
Madras	37
Bombay	35
Bihar and Orissa	32
Assam	56

100,000, to 8,025 or 50 per 100,000, a higher proportion than that of all other provinces except Assam. Leprosy is commonest in Chhattisgarh, followed by the cotton country; the north of the province and the Chhota-Nagpur states are comparatively immune. The disease spreads owing to insanitary conditions of life and lack of precautions to isolate it. Except among children, it is more

prevalent among males than females, there being about 3 men affected to every 2 women. Heredity has a comparatively unimportant effect on the spread of the disease. In the leper asylums of the province it has been found that if leprosy is attacked in its incipient stages, treatment by injection may effect a cure.

Caste.

276. The number of castes enumerated at the census was 228 against 384 in 1911, this heavy reduction being due to a decision to record no separate information for castes which comprise less than 1 per cent of the population, unless they possess for any reason particular importance. Castes were classified on the basis of their traditional occupation into 31 occupational groups; of these 4, including those not otherwise classified, have more than a million members, and 14 other more than 100,000. It is impossible here to do more than notice the principal groups and their chief members: they will be treated in order of decreasing magnitude.

277. The largest group is that of the forest and hill tribes, whose numbers have decreased from 3,689,807 in 1911 to 3,261,657: of this total, 346,347 are included in the five Kolarian or Munda tribes of Korkus, Kols, Sawaras, Korwas and Nagasias. The most important tribe is that of the Gonds, whose total of 2,109,583 comprises two-thirds of the total strength of the group, and more than one-eighths of the population of the province. The decline in their

Name.	Strength in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Andh	52	Nil.
Bharla or Bhumia	52	+2
Bhils	25	-11
Binjhar	36	-39
Gond	2,110	-10
Halba	109	+9
Kawar	222	-3
Kol	97	+17
Koli	41	+14
Korku	140	-8
Korwa	20	-40
Pardhan	96	-19
Nagasias	15	-67
Oraon	74	-11
Sawara	74	Nil.
Others	99	...

Forest and hill tribes.

numbers is due to the fact, already commented upon, that jungle tribes always suffer heavily in times of stress, and will probably be only temporary, as such tribes owing to their prolificness always make a speedy recovery. The Gonds, who were at one time the dominant race throughout the province, have gradually yielded up the open country to Aryan invaders, but are still numerous in the wilder parts, where a number of Gond Ruling Chiefs and *zamindars* still preserve something of the ancient dominion of the tribe. They are found in large numbers in almost every district of the province, particularly in the Plateau districts, Jubbulpore, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, Chhattisgarh and most of the Feudatory States. Numerous sub-tribes have branched off from them, such as the Pardhans, Kolams, Dhanwars (bowmen), Bhunjias and others. The Pardhans are inferior Gonds who act as priests and minstrels of that tribe, and were formerly the genealogists and ministers of the Gond kings. The Kolams, who are found in the Yeotmal district, have a language of their own, Kolami, which is akin to Gondi. The Kawars live mainly in the Chhattisgarh hills north of the Mahanadi and in the Chhota Nagpur states: their traditional occupation is that of soldiers, but they are now mostly labourers and cultivators. Eight of the Bilaspur *zamindars* belong to the tribe. The Halbas are strongest in Bastar and Kanker and adjacent portions of Raipur and Drug, whence they have spread westward to Bhandara and the Maratha Plain; they are said to have sprung from irregular unions between Oriya Rajas and the women of their retainers and servants. The Oraons or Kurukhs are a Dravidian tribe found chiefly in Jashpur and Sirgūja. The decline in their numbers is due to the omission from the census statistics of the large numbers who embraced Christianity before the last census. The Andhs are a low cultivating caste of obscure origin in Berar, which is becoming rapidly hinduized. Binjhvars and Baigas belong to the same stock; the former are socially the higher, and contain several of the Raipur and Bilaspur *zamindars*, while the Baigas are hereditary priests to many of their neighbouring tribes in Chhattisgarh. The Bhils are an indigenous non-Aryan tribe found in Nimar and scattered over Berar: their true home is the hilly country of the lower Satpuras, where they were once rulers. Akin to them are their neighbours the Kolis, who were formerly the guardians of the passes from the north into Berar. Of the remaining five Munda or Kolarian tribes, the chief are the Kols and the Korkus. The former have increased 17 per cent since 1911, their labour being in particular demand at the manganese mines; they are scattered over the province, but are found in largest numbers in the Jubbulpore district owing to its proximity to Rewah State, from which they have emigrated. The Korkus are of particular ethnological interest, as their

habitation in the Satpura and Mahadeo hills is separated by a considerable distance from that of the rest of the Kolarian family. The Korwas are a wild forest tribe living in isolated huts on the plateaux of Sirguja and Jashpur. The Sawaras, formerly the dominant Kolarian tribe, are found in two branches, one in Saugor and Damoh, the other in Bilaspur and Raipur.

278. The cultivating group numbers 2,851,008 persons, or Cultivators.

Caste.	Number in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Agharia ...	25	-8
Barai ...	54	-10
Bhojar ...	63	+7
Kachhi ...	116	-3
Kirar ...	44	-8
Kohli ...	25	-3
Kolta ...	20	-45
Kunbi ...	1,253	-8
Kurmi ...	302	Nil.
Lodhi ...	296	-6
Mali ...	522	-7
Mana ...	48	-2
Others ...	133	...

17·8 per cent of the population, the principal caste being the Kunbis of the Maratha country, who, like the Kurmis of the Hindi-speaking parts and the Koltas of the Oriya-speaking parts of the province, have a functional name, and are the traditional tillers of the soil. Of the Kachhis and Malis of the Hindi districts the former grow regular irrigated crops, while the latter confine themselves to vegetables and flower gardens: but the Mali or Marar of the Maratha country is both a cultivator and a gardener. The Lodhis, who are

found mainly in the north of the province, are said to have originally come from Ludhiana in the Punjab. The Bhojars, found mainly in Chhindwara and Betul, are peculiar to the Central Provinces, and claim Raipur origin. The Barais are growers of betel-leaves. The Manas, a caste of Dravidian origin, are found chiefly in Chanda, where they are said to have ruled before the Gonds dispossessed them. Agharias are found along the Orissa border; they will utilise no article which they have not made or grown themselves, except iron and salt. The Kohlis belong to the Wainganga valley, where they have left a distinctive mark on the surrounding country by their construction of most of the large tanks in that area.

279. The weaving, carding and dyeing group contains

Caste.	Strength in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Bahna ...	34	-29
Ganda ...	145	-5
Katia ...	38	-8
Kori ...	38	-4
Koshti ...	151	-2
Mehra (Mahar) ...	1,171	+4
Panka ...	206	-4
Others ...	27	...

1,809,702 persons, or 11·3 per cent of the population, a decrease of 118,000 during the decade. The largest caste is that of the Mahars or Mehras, who are found all over the province, but principally in the Nagpur and Berar Divisions. It is an untouchable caste, but

Weavers, carders and dyers.

in Berar it holds a powerful position in the village community, in which a number of Mahar families known as *watandar*, Mahars have an hereditary status which they defend with much zeal. Their functions include the removal of dead animals, the weighing of grain, village sanitation, assistance at funerals, and general aid to the *patel* or village headman in carrying out the duties assigned to him by Government: as remuneration for this work they received up till recently a grain cess on cultivated land paid at harvest-time, which has now by the Local Government's orders been changed to a cash cess assessed at a uniform rate all over Berar. Though their duties are socially degrading, the Mahars are for this reason indispensable in most villages and are usually able adequately to hold their own in a quarrel with the *patel*. Few of the caste are now weavers, except in the big mills; but it supplies much of the general and agricultural labour in the Maratha plain. The Pankas are Dravidian weavers found in Mandla and Chhattisgarh; akin to them are the Gandas, an impure caste of the Oriya parts of Chhattisgarh, who are weavers of coarse cloth and musicians. Both Pankas and Gandas sometimes act as village watchmen. Koshtis are a Telugu and Maratha weaving class found chiefly in the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh divisions; they have a higher social position than other similar castes, their occupation being the weaving of the fine silk-bordered clothes worn by well-to-do Marathas. Koris are the weaving caste of Northern India. Katias are cotton spinners and village watchmen in the Plateau and Nerbada districts. Bahnas are a Muhammadan class of cotton cleaners, which is decreasing owing to the competition of ginning factories.

**Graziers
and
dairymen.**

280. There are 976,070 members of the group of graziers and dairymen. Ahirs are

Caste.	Strength in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-)
Ahir	603	-18
Dhangar	97	+ 1
Gadaria	36	-10
Gowari	156	- 1
Gujar	55	- 2
Others	27	-29

still the most numerous caste; the decrease in their numbers is due to their tendency to disintegrate into smaller castes. They are found all over the province, but are less numerous in the Maratha Plain, where the Gowaris take their place.

The occupation of both castes is the care of cattle and the sale of milk. Dhangars and Gadarias herd sheep and goats, the former, who are also blanket-weavers, in the Maratha Plain and Nimar, the latter in the north. Gujars are found chiefly in Nimar and Hoshangabad: they were

formerly a nomad pastoral tribe around Gwalior, but are now settled cultivators with large herds of cattle.

281. Chamars, who number 881,674, are the tanners of Northern India. In Chhattisgarh alone they number 553,000; there they form the majority of the tenant and labouring classes, and many of them are Kabirpanthis and Satnamis by religion, and are not on good terms with their Hindu

Caste.	Strength in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Chamar ...	882	- 2
Others ...	13	-13

neighbours. The Satnami Chamars have entirely given up leather-working, but the caste as a whole has a very low social grade and is considered untouchable. The decrease in their numbers is due to a large temporary exodus of Chamar labour to Bihar and the East just prior to the Census. Telis, who number 890,240, an increase of 2 per cent, are the only oil-pressing caste. They are strongest in Chhattisgarh. They rank low in the caste hierarchy among the village menial class. Many of them have abandoned their traditional occupation for agriculture. The Rathora sub-caste of Telis claim to be Rathor Rajputs; the latter, needless to say, do not accept their claim.

282. The principal land-holding caste is that of the Rajputs. Their numbers are as usual swollen by the tendency of lower castes to pass themselves off as Kshatriyas, an illustration of which is the large number (191,000) of those who returned themselves as Rajputs without specifying the Rajput sept to which they belonged. The marginal table shows the strength in thousands of the chief septs represented in the province, the figures being an under-estimate owing to the failure of so many to return their sept. Panwars are an important cultivating and land-holding community in Seoni, Bhandara and Balaghat: their numbers show a slight increase. Raghubansis are of mixed descent and are not always recognised as

Caste.	Strength.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Rajput ...	455,906	+ 3
Maratha ...	206,144	+ 120

Sept.	Strength.
Panwar ...	152
Raghubansi ...	19
Jadam ...	15
Chauhan ...	12
Dhakar ...	9
Rathor ...	7

Rajputs, with whom they do not inter-marry. They are found mostly in the Narbada valley. Jadams are almost confined to the Hoshangabad district, and are practically a separate caste. Chauhans are found in the north. The other important land-holder caste is that of the Marathas, the extraordinary increase of 120 per cent in whose numbers is due to the activity of Maratha Kunbi caste organizations in asserting their claim to the more valued title of Maratha.

Priests and devotees.

283. The priestly group contains 543,055 persons, by far the most numerous being the Brahmans, who comprise 2.9 per cent of the total population. Their importance is out of all proportion to their numbers, owing to their high caste and the fact that they occupy most of the positions which call for a higher standard of intelligence. Of Government servants above the menial

Caste.	Strength in thousands	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Bairagi ...	35	- 9
Brahman ...	457	+ 3
Gosain ...	40	- 6
Others ...	11	-12

class, 74 per cent are said to be Brahmans. Besides monopolising clerical and administrative appointments they are found in every walk of life. Many follow their traditional occupation, or take to religious mendicancy, which is regarded as meritorious in the case of a Brahman. Gosains and Bairagis are castes developed from the religious mendicants of the Sivite and Kishnuite sects respectively.

Other castes.

284. Details of the remaining principal castes and their occupations are given in the margin.

Caste.	Traditional occupation.	Strength in thousands.	Percentage increase (+) decrease (-).
Dhimar ...	Fisherman...	262	- 8
Bania ...	Trader ...	205	+ 3
Kalar ...	Distiller ...	189	- 3
Kewat ...	Fisherman...	175	+ 3
Lohar ...	Blacksmith.	174	- 4
Dhobi ...	Washerman.	166	+0.6
Nai ...	Barber ...	160	+ 7
Sunar ...	Goldsmith	129	+ 2
Banjara ...	Pack-carrier.	123	- 9
Kumhar ...	Potter ...	121	+ 2
Barhai ...	Carpenter ...	97	-11

Dhimars, Kewats and Kahars who are not really distinct castes, are boatmen, fishermen, growers of water-nuts, and perform all occupations connected with water, Dhimars chiefly in the Maratha country, Kewats in Chhattisgarh and Kahars (21,000) in the north. The greater portion of the liquor traffic is in the hands of the Kalars, who rank socially on

a level with the Telis; they acquired much unpopularity in the recent anti-liquor campaign. Bania is really a word meaning merchant, and is not a caste name. Banias are divided into various

sub-castes, in this case true castes, of which the chief are the Agarwals, Maheshris, Marwaris, Parwars, Oswals, and Gahois. Banjaras, who were formerly carriers of the whole trade of Central India, have lost their occupation with the development of communications and have settled down as cultivators, chiefly in Berar. The earliest agriculturists among them formed a distinct caste known as Wanjari, which numbers 46,000 and disclaims connection with the parent caste.

285. In view of the important social problems connected with Untouchable castes.

Caste.	Strength in thousands.	Caste.	Strength in thousands.
Balahi ...	43	Kumhar ...	121
Basor ...	44	Madgi ...	9
Chamar ...	882	Mala ...	6
Dhobi ...	166	Mang ...	84
Ganda ...	145	Mahar ...	1,171
Katia ...	38	Mehtar ...	13
Kori ...	38	Panka ...	206
		Total ...	2,966

them, a marginal list of the principal untouchable castes is given. Owing to the omission of minor castes the number of untouchables is greater than that actually shown: even without allowing for this the figures show that despite the teaching of social reformers there are no less than 19 per cent of the inhabitants of the province whose touch is pollution to their fellow-men.

Occupation.

286. For detailed information on the general distribution of the population by occupation, the reader is referred to Chapter XI of the Provincial Census Report for 1921; for the compilation of that chapter unusually elaborate statistics and information were drawn up, a new feature being the taking of a careful census of industrial establishments in the province, on which is based an interesting discussion on the trend of industrial development and trade unionism.

287. The marginal table compares the number of persons in 1921 and 1911 supported by the various occupations (under main heads). Agriculture is most important in the least developed portions of the province, the highest percentage, of 80, being found in the Chhattisgarh Plain and Chhota Nagpur Divisions, followed closely by the Plateau Division with 79 per cent.

Occupation.	1911.		1912.	
	Number in thousands.	Percentage of total.	Number in thousands.	Percentage of total.
Agriculture ...	12,104	75.5	11,863	74.2
Industry (including mines).	1,643	10.2	1,487	9.3
Commerce ...	813	5.1	892	5.6
Professions ...	234	1.5	186	1.2
Others ...	1,236	7.7	1,552	9.7

Industry and commerce flourish most in the Nerbada valley owing to the larger number of persons there engaged in the clothing industry, and in trade in food-stuffs; the textile industry however has its home in the Maratha plain, where it occupies 3·7 per cent of the population. The Plateau Division, owing to the development of the Pench valley coal-field, now employs the highest percentage (·3) in the exploitation of minerals. Those engaged in the professions and in public administration are most numerous in the Nerbada valley (1·8 per cent) and the Maratha plain (1·5 per cent); and the unproductive class, which includes pensioners, is also most strongly represented in the Nerbada valley (11·1 per cent), being attracted there by the lower cost of living. In every 100 persons the proportion of dependents to workers in all occupations is 42 to 58, against 41 to 59 in 1911. It is highest in commercial and professional occupations, which are the monopoly of the more educated classes whose women seldom earn their own living; in agriculture and mining, which freely employ women, the percentages of dependents are respectively 40 and 37. Berar shows the high percentage of 45 dependents, and the figures for Saugor, Damoh and Hoshangabad also are high, representing a tendency in these parts for women to abstain from work in the fields. Among actual workers there were 812 females for every 1,000 males, the highest figures occurring in the Chhattisgarh district (956), followed by the Nagpur Division (838), and the lowest in Berar (663), Hoshangabad and Damoh also returning very low figures. The

Occupation.	Number of female per 1,000 male workers.	Occupation.	Number of female per 1,000 male workers.
Agriculture ...	876	Building ...	593
Fishing and hunting ...	460	Scavenging ...	785
Mining ...	998	Road transport ...	613
Textile manufacture ...	744	Rail transport ...	363
Wood industry ...	513	Trade ...	749
Metal-work ...	417	Religion ...	432
Ceramics ...	839	Medicine ...	1,251
Food industries ...	1,388	Begging and prostitution.	878

marginal table compares the numbers of male and female labourers in various important groups of occupations. Women are employed in almost every occupation, lawyers, police, and barbers being the chief exceptions. In agriculture they are chiefly employed as field labourers (1,509 per mille men), ordinary cultivators (743) and farm servants (430). The proportion of female miners to male in coal mines is only 405, but in other mines 1,107; in quarries it is 518. Of branches of the textile industry, women predominate in cotton spinning (2,605 per mille) and in the small rope and wool industries; of food industries, in grain-grinding (4,605) and grain-parching (2,224); of building industries, in lime-burning (1,168) and stone-cutting and dressing (1,211); and of road transport labour, in labour on roads and bridges (1,064). They are engaged in all kinds of

trade, from banking (314 per mille) to trade in food-stuffs (831) [in particular in *pan* and condiments (961) and fodder (1,420)], trade in clothing (1,118), and in fuel (1,660). Women medical practitioners number 426, or 203 per mille, but of midwives, vaccinators, compounders, etc., there are 4,939 women to every 1,000 men.

The table inset compares the proportion per thousand of the

Occupation.	In cities and large towns.	In the province.
Pasture and agriculture ...	168	768
Textile industries ...	148	261
Food industries ...	13	4
Industries of dress and toilet ...	43	23
Building ...	12	2
Trade of all sorts ...	145	44
Transport ...	51	11
Public administration and force.	126	26
Religion, professions, and arts.	45	12
Domestic service ...	64	14
Beggars, criminals, etc. ...	22	8

persons employed in some of the principal occupations in cities and large towns with the corresponding figures for the province as a whole. The differences are exactly what might be expected from the distinction between rural and urban areas, but the fact that more than one-sixth of the urban

population directly depend on pasture and agriculture for their living shows that even in towns the population is still essentially agricultural.

288. The number of agriculturists has decreased by 3 Agriculture and pasture.

Class.	Number, per mille are also.		
	Rent-receivers.	Rent-payers.	Agricultural labourers.
Rent-receivers	1,000	5	1
Rent-payers ...	122	1,000	5
Agricultural labourers ...	71	22	1,000

per cent, ordinary cultivators having decreased by 161,000 or 2 per cent, and rent-receivers having increased by 67,000 or 52 per cent; this last increase represents little

real variation, it being more reputable for a man to be returned as a rent-receiver than as a rent-payer when he is both; it may however reflect the increased frequency of sub-letting due to agricultural development. Similarly the combined total of farm servants and field labourers has changed only slightly, but the former are recorded as having declined by

23 per cent. The raising of farm stock employs 395,000 persons, a fall of 9 per cent; but about a quarter of the decrease is due to the increase in the number of persons shown as sellers of dairy produce. Breeders have increased and herdsmen decreased in numbers. Workers who combine their principal occupation with agriculture as a subsidiary occupation number 27 per mille of the total number of workers in all occupations, the ratio varying from 53 in the Narbada valley to 19 in the Maratha Plain and 15 in the Chhota Nagpur States. Of particular occupations, 188 fishermen and huntsmen per thousand follow agriculture as a secondary occupation, followed by industries of dress and toilet (186), and trade in food-stuffs (155); the figures for industry and trade in general are 140 and 142 per mille. Only 62 per mille of the pasture group also practise agriculture, exemplifying the tendency of hereditary occupations to keep distinct even from others closely akin to them; and the fact that only 35 per mille of those employed on the extraction of minerals are also agriculturists shows how little the mines depend on local labour. Of those whose main occupation is agriculture, 88 per mille of the rent-receivers have a subsidiary non-agricultural occupation, 13 per mille each being also artisans and traders other than money-lenders, 12 per mille Government servants, and 10 per mille money-lenders. Of rent-payers, 50 per mille follow other non-agricultural pursuits, and of farm servants and field labourers, 21 per mille, the principal subsidiary occupations in the former case being trade other than money-lending (8 per mille) and weaving (4), and, in the latter case, general labour and trade of all kinds (3 each). The marginal table shows the interrelation of the three classes of agriculturists.

**Industry
and trade.**

289. The number of persons supported by industries has fallen by 9 per cent, those supported under every head, except textiles, miscellaneous, and dress and toilet industries, showing a decrease. The number of persons supported by the textile industry increased by 5 per cent to 468,000, the three main divisions of the cotton industry, ginning, spinning, and weaving reporting increases of 46, 21 and 3 respectively, which indicate a real growth of the mill industry. The distinction between trade and production can only be made with accuracy when these two functions are performed by distinct sets of people. In India the maker or grower is often the distributor of his products, and it is therefore impossible to introduce into the census statistics differences of classification which have no existence in reality. The recorded increase of 20 per cent to 710,000 of persons supported by trade, which is entirely due to those enumerated under the head "other trade in food-stuffs," is therefore purely nominal.

Industrial Census.

290. A brief summary follows of the chief statistics compiled

Industrial Establishment.	Number of Establishments.	Employees.		Number of children per 1,000 adults.
		Male.	Female.	
Coal mines ...	17	6,968	2,612	75
Manganese mines ...	42	7,599	6,573	129
Quarries ...	5	2,110	1,245	131
Cotton mills ...	12	14,597	4,210	49
Cotton ginning presses.	186	7,025	3,783	5
Metal industries ..	9	1,064	10	39
Brick factories ...	21	1,507	1,071	163
Pottery works ...	2	1,063	462	49
Chemical industries...	18	702	308	41
Tobacco (<i>biri</i>) factories.	164	5,546	2,133	205
Cement works ...	19	2,192	1,124	101
Railway work-shops...	18	3,583	188	10
Printing presses ...	10	620	...	8
Others ...	38	1,863	129	30
Total ...	561	56,339	23,846	82

from the industrial census. Many establishments employing less than twenty workers probably escaped notice; but the enumerated number of industrial establishments employing ten or more workers was 561, of which 468 as against 307 in 1911 employed twenty or more persons. The total number of workers had increased in 10 years

from 56,618 to 80,185. The rapid development of the coal-mining industry, of which fuller and more recent evidence is given in Part II, paragraph 12 of this report, is evidenced by the increase since 1911 of the number of mines by 12 and of workers by 6,556. This expansion was largely due to the war, which reduced the imports of coal into India and, by causing a shortage of railway waggons, hindered the carriage of Bengal coal. Employés in cotton mills increased by 41 per cent. The figures for ginning presses, which numbered 186 against 153 in 1911, are considerably below the actual, as only those were included which were working when the census was taken, whereas by that time many had ceased working, while many frequently remain closed for a whole season. The decline from 13,591 to 10,808 in the number of workers indicates that many presses must have been working below full strength. The progress of the glass and earthenware industry, which is almost entirely confined to the Jubbulpore district, is indicated by the increase during the decade of establishments from 8 to 24 and of workers from 1,618 to 4,317; the most important works were the two potteries in Jubbulpore. Of the 164 *biri* factories 133, employing 3,316 workers, are in the Bhandara district. War conditions were responsible for the growth of the Jubbulpore cement industry from 17 establishments with 1,787 workers to 19 with 3,316, and for the increase in the number of railway workshops from 11 with 1,582 employés to 18 with 3,771.

Personnel of
Industrial
Associations
Directors
Managers.

291. Of the 561 industrial establishments, 133 were registered companies, in 59 of which the directors were European or Anglo-Indian, and in 56 Indian, the boards in the remainder being composite. European boards predominated in the coal and manganese mining industries. Indian companies largely control the cotton trade, the directors of 7 cotton mills and 33 ginning factories being all Indians. Of the 418 concerns owned by private persons, 19 were owned by Europeans or Anglo-Indians, 18 by Parsis, 55 by Muhammadans, 320 by Hindus (Banias constituted the principal Hindu element), and 2 by Japanese. European and Anglo-Indian managers numbered 84: they are employed chiefly in the more important concerns which can afford to pay high salaries to foreign managers. Muhammadan managers numbered 68. Parsis managed 2 cotton mills and 18 ginning factories. Banias managed 4 manganese mines, 3 cotton mills and 24 ginning factories, and Brahmans 46 ginning factories; while 215 concerns were managed by Hindus whose caste was not specified.

Labour.

292. The marginal table shows the composition by sex and age of skilled and unskilled labour. Of skilled labourers, Muhammadans supplied 1,980 adult males and 1,113 females, Mahars 3,358 adult males and 1,557 females, Gonds 1,133 adult males and 506 females, and Chamars 612 adults. Of unskilled

	Adults.		Below 14 years of age.	
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
Skilled ...	15,030	3,398	1,188	420
Unskilled ..	16,161	11,956	2,089	1,481

labourers, 5,113 adults are Mahars, 4,799 Gonds, and 1,513 Kols. Muhammadan, Mahars, Kunbis, Marathas, Koshtis and Telis are employed in cotton industries, Muhammadans also in the railway workshops, Gonds, Mahars, Chamars and Kols in mines. The table in the preceding paragraph shows the distribution of female labour among the various industries. Under the Factories Act of 1911 no child under 12 may be employed in a factory, and for the employment of children between 14 and 15 years of age a medical certificate of fitness is prescribed. Skilled child labour is commonest in the spinning departments of cotton mills and in manganese mines; unskilled in the surface work of coal and manganese mines, and, to a less degree, in cotton mills. Many large concerns maintained schools for their child employes. The three main sources whence the labour of the province is recruited are the Kols and other castes of Rewah State, the Gonds and Chamars of Chhattisgarh and the Feudatory States, and Telugu workers for the Chanda coal mines from the Nizam's dominions.

